

UNFINISHED

SOCIALISM

UNFINISHED

S O C I A L I S M

**PICTURES
FROM THE KÁDÁR ERA**

ANDRÁS GERŐ – IVÁN PETŐ



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INTRODUCTION

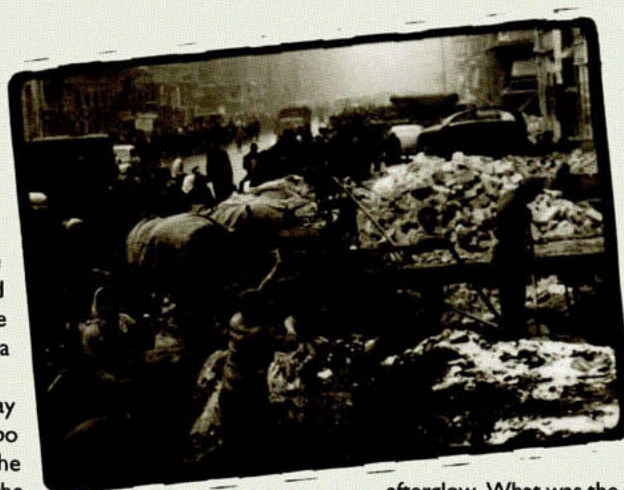
PICTURES FROM THE KÁDÁR ERA

Sometimes we sense it at the time, or else we come to realize it later, that an era has begun, or ended. Usually, however, a certain distance, the passage of time, is needed to provide the perspective for seeing matters with a degree of certainty.

Nonetheless we may declare without taking too much of a risk that the twentieth century — in the historical rather than calendrical sense — has already ended. One of the decisive features of this century was, if we may say so, the great experiment of socialism. With the failure of this experiment (and the disintegration of the Soviet Union), changes on a world-historical scale followed. An era had come to a close.

Those who live through the birth or death of an entire era — as, for example, the majority of Hungary's ten and a half million people — know from experience that historical reversals of fortune are not merely breaks in continuity. History is a process in which we continue to carry with us the time we believe to have passed, the bygone era, including everything from our material surroundings to memories, distilled into life-experience. In this sense, no matter how much things change, some parts are bound to remain with us.

Hungary participated in the great transition from state socialism, and many people were fully aware of this while the actual events were taking place. It would probably be much more difficult to recognize what has stayed with us, inside us, and what has changed and when, in the world below or alongside politics, on the level of lifestyles, customs, everyday life.



Early in 1996 the two compilers of the present volume began to discuss a curious phenomenon. We had noticed that probably the majority of those who had lived through the socialism of the Kádár era regarded it negatively and considered it irretrievably a thing of the past, and yet quite often they still seemed to speak of it with a nostalgic

afterglow. What was the meaning of this? Was it simply a resurfacing of the familiar attitude that reluctantly accepted the regime, despising it and putting up with it at the same time, or was it a new phenomenon? This question could be posed about the former socialist bloc as a whole.

Given the difficulty and ambivalence of evaluating the preceding era, and the widespread inclination toward retrospection, the obvious thing to do was to literally take a look at what was then, and is still, directly discernible — in the form of a book of photographs from the Kádár era. For while individual moments tend to be gradually transformed into impressions or memories arranged in a particular order, the photograph has a way of somehow arresting time, and thereby preserving the moment.

Because of this ability of photographs to charge remembered images of the past with concrete content, we wanted first of all to show what had — in principle — been available for everyone to see. This entailed the inclusion of photographs of the type intended and produced for publication. In addition, it seemed important to recall the rhetorical environment in which this world that we visually resurrected had been embedded. Toward this end, we have matched contemporary press reports — the area of public discourse controlled exclusively by the regime — with the pictures.

Whoever picks up this volume should not expect a history book, at least not the kind that provides a chronological narrative and attempts to determine which events were decisive in the last thirty or so years. Nor did we intend to provide a comprehensive analysis, historical clarification or judgement. At this time there is still much that cannot be known or judged; much that seems to be consigned to the past is still with us. We have our convictions, but we do not possess sufficient perspective. We try to be objective and maintain a distance, but our own lives intervene between our subject and our objectivity. We believe in the historical significance of the transition, but we are aware of the historical power of continuity as well. Our situation, like that of the majority of our compatriots and fellow citizens who have lived through the change of system, is ambiguous. We have graduated from the twentieth century by learning that the past cannot be utterly obliterated — quite apart from the desirability of, or need for, such obliteration.

When, in 1989, for the bicentennial commemoration of the French Revolution, the French organized an international conference of historians, the Chinese declined the prestigious invitation, explaining that the event was too recent for its meaningful judgement to be possible. When the Hungarian Historical Society was founded in 1867, it established the journal *Századok* [Centuries], which is still being published today. The journal's editorial committee decided that it would publish only articles dealing with the period before 1723 because — in their opinion — at least 144 years had to pass before impartiality could be ensured.

Perhaps they were right.

This volume is an attempt to evoke the period extending from the installation of the new regime after the suppression of the 1956 uprising until just before the transformation of 1988-89: what we might call the Kádár era. The beginning and the end seem obvious: on the one hand, the cessation of armed struggle, and on the other, the moment before the certainty that the regime had come to an end. Because our object is the completed but still extant recent past, we have sought not only to portray these three decades, but to confront existing memories.

We know that each individual's recollections of the Kádár era must in large measure be determined by personal impressions and experiences, by events and circumstances that determined individuals' and families'

fates. The overwhelming majority of today's adults lived the decisive portion of their lives during this period; and although a twenty-year-old of today has no adult memories of the years before 1988-89, the lives and material environments of parents, grandparents and teachers link him or her to those years. (Approximately half of the Hungarian population is over the age of 40, another quarter is between 20 and 40.)

Those who were committed communists or socialists and believed in the construction of the world they had dreamed about, in the remediability of the system's problems, their possible correction via reforms — that is, those who feel that socialism raised the quality of their lives — have a very different image of this era from others, who, say, went about their daily lives without caring much about the regime, merely observing the rules and ten years later remember the Kádár era only as a time when the world seemed calculable and secure.

Among those whose attitude to everyday life was determined by their stance toward the regime, some believed that the system was good, and that its problems, mistakes, and lapses were the consequence of human frailty, and therefore without significance in the 'scales of history'. Others held, on the contrary, that the system was fundamentally bad, and that its putative accomplishments

— for example, improved living standards — did not significantly alter the case. Among the latter some saw, and still see, in the socialist regime nothing but a system forced upon the nation by a foreign power, or as the product of an inherently evil design. Yet others felt that 'Satan cannot be dislodged by Beelzebub': that is, even if socialism intended to eliminate the problems of capitalism, the system which came into being did not turn out to be any better or more humane, while the economy necessarily became wasteful and non-competitive. Furthermore, crimes committed in the name of the promise of a beautiful future are all the more unforgivable.

In compiling this volume we did not intend to accuse or to rehabilitate, or to evoke the atmosphere of our bygone youth. In other words, we have tried to avoid an emotional approach to the period. We have also tried to avoid adopting a so-called sympathetic attitude toward socialism, one that concedes 'there were mistakes, but there were also significant achievements'. Needless to say, we do have firm views toward the Kádár era — or more precisely, the former socialist system. At the same time, we believe that virtues and vices stem from the same source and that they cannot be separated from or weighed against one another. They were divergent yet interdependent aspects of the



previous regime that constituted a single, integrated entity, an entire social, political and economic system.

Originally, we planned to lay out the volume along three axes.

First, we would structure the period on the basis of its own terminology, titling each chapter to reflect the jargon of the period: *Vanguard* ['Élcsapat'], *Working Peasantry*, *Creative Intelligentsia*, and so on. Meanwhile, the contrast between photograph and text would convey both the real behind the unreal and the truth behind the illusion. However, after another look at the photographs and texts selected, we realized that, by reproducing the irrational and false criteria of the period, we would risk conferring validity upon something that was never what it proclaimed itself to be, and this we wanted to avoid by all means. It also seemed impractical to describe a bygone age using the terminology of a later one; for instance, substitution of the expression 'party state' for 'our Party' and 'our government' would have erased every trace of the era's particular atmosphere.

Secondly, our original impulse was to separate the public sphere from the private, the pictures from the world of politics from those of the world beneath and alongside it. This idea turned out to be only partly realizable; often there was no clear dividing line between these two spheres. One of the characteristics of the regime was precisely the existence of an official 'state religion'—Marxism-Leninism—the terminology of which was meant to penetrate even the private sphere, if in no other way than through the educational system. (By way of illustration, one of the banners in a photograph of a political demonstration reads 'The Party brought us up'.) Again, we would have ended up imposing on the period a point of view alien to it.

Thirdly, we wished to approach the Kádár era as a single entity, without dividing it into periods. However, we came to realize that the photographs and texts from two sub-periods in particular—that is, the one directly after the crushing of the 1956 uprising, and the one which immediately preceded and, as it were, flowed into the period of political transition—stood apart from the rest, depicting things as they existed only then.

In the end we settled on an approach that was a meld of the historical and anthropological: we structured the arrangement of the pictures of bygone decades—evoking scenes, typical situations, faces—mostly in terms of the rituals of the socialist era. Such a structure and method also made it possible to suggest, implicitly, either a

chronological order, or else even a thematic principle within individual sections. As a result, this bygone world came to life in terms of its own imperceptibly evolving, peculiar timelessness, because in it time seemed to have stopped: socialism was being built, but the construction process appeared to be uncompletable, never ending.

We wanted by all means to reproduce the original titles and captions of photographs coming from the Hungarian News Agency (MTI) but felt that their unevenness and eclecticism would be too confusing. Therefore we proceeded to create our own titles in line with the concept we had agreed upon: to reflect what these photographs tell us today. This also allowed rendering our material, which originated from several sources, to appear more unified—while retaining the stylistic and substantive differences between the pictures. (The photographs' original titles, captions and descriptions, as well as further information about them, are included in the Photo Credits section at the end of the volume.)

The structure we eventually decided upon also gave us more freedom in making use of the press excerpts. We were able to exploit the ways in which the texts at times complement, at times counterpoint or emphasize the pictures, while in other instances they establish associative links. These texts are all authentic, and provide quite a few unexpected twists.

By now it should seem obvious that we had no intention to produce a historical tableau. For instance, in the pictures of the eponymous János Kádár and other senior politicians of the period gathered under the heading *Comrades*—as indeed elsewhere in general—we intend to show what we deemed to be typical situations and gestures, instead of trying to portray the entire political hierarchy. For the same reason many are absent, whose photos should have merited inclusion among representative intellectuals or in the section *Heroes, Role Models, and Stars*. Our aim was to publish outstanding pictures which characterize the era, rather than to provide an inclusive (or exclusive) catalogue of personages.

To put it in another way, our goal was to capture the 'fingerprint' of the Kádár era. A fingerprint is unique and unmistakable, and provides an unequivocal identification of some person. It tells us nothing about that person's looks or hair color, does not reveal whether that particular individual limps or takes seven-league strides. A fingerprint tells us nothing of the sort, yet its definitiveness is unquestionable.

It is easy to take an ironic stance in viewing the phenomena of a bygone era. The political language and the increasingly



empty rites of socialism — that is, of the Kádár era — its pettiness and banalities directly invite such an outlook, especially since certain things could not be approached without irony even at the time. An example that immediately springs to mind is the metaphor of construction that saturated the regime as a whole. The title of this volume alludes to it, as do such slogans of the time as 'We are building socialism', 'We have laid down the foundations of socialism' and 'The Soviet Union is already at the stage of building communism'. Another subject for irony was the distinction between 'socialism under construction' and 'existing socialism', for the further the construction progressed, the less this socialist reality seemed to resemble the original design, the socialist dream: as time went by, the socialist ideal became increasingly downgraded to the level of 'existing socialism'. There was further self-irony in the sociologically untenable vision of society that distinguished the following social categories: 'working class', 'working peasantry', 'intelligentsia allied with the above', and 'others'.

Similarly false was the 'worker' myth that necessitated the registration of Party bureaucrats as workers in order to substantiate the slogan about the 'leadership role of the working class'. Party sessions conducted under the public eye, meetings, and elections emerged as events to be reckoned with, despite the fact that nothing interesting ever happened at them. Party congresses — which determined not

only the country's economic policy but even its book publishing guidelines — were important not only because Kádár usually took the opportunity to announce impending personnel changes in the echelons, reading them from a piece of paper he would take out of his pocket, but also because he himself clearly believed in their importance as the occasions where the country's situation had to be presented as favourable, whatever the actual circumstances might be.

Looking back at a deceitful and, in many ways, irrational world, which was dishonest even with itself, necessarily gives rise to irony, sometimes in its bitterest and most ruthless form. The photograph captions offered the greatest temptation to wax ironic, a temptation we decided to resist, thinking it a cheap way to score points. Instead, we were determined to maintain the driest objectivity in all of our captions.

Some photographs were obviously taken with deliberate, one might even say affectionate, irony; others, in hindsight, appear to be not so much ironic as comic. Through our editorial strategy, in arranging the photographs, and by establishing associative links between photograph

and text, we too resorted to irony. Looking at pictures of János Kádár kissing foreign communist politicians on the mouth, one by one, following the Russian custom copied throughout the communist bloc, and then reading the linguistic analysis that attributes such originally non-Hungarian forms of greeting as 'kezeit csókolom' or 'csókolom' for short ('I kiss your hands', 'I kiss') to Austrian imperial court usage, will inevitably lead to the obvious conclusions. When we came across an advertisement written in the particularly obscure language that had become so widespread in the absence of open political discourse, it begged us to 'interpret the metaphor' by linking it to other texts and photographs.

A good photograph does more than merely capture the moment; it actually reveals more of its day and age than was visible at the time. A small portion of the

photographs reproduced here were taken with a deliberate artistic purpose, a desire for individual self-expression. Such works still show more or less what the photographer intended to depict of his or her own era. But the vast majority of the pictures were taken by officially accredited photo-journalists working for the Hungarian News Agency, and as such, are admirable professional products done mostly

on routine assignments, aimed at capturing

nothing more than the moment. This aim holds true for the amateur snapshots included in our volume. However, the photographs capture not only typical situations or moments of the period but also its particular way of seeing things. After a number of years, photographs (similarly to news reports or archive documents) often acquire new meaning and, as a new generation approaches them from its own vantage point, reveal something different from what they showed at the moment of their making.

Even those photographs which fully accommodate the official standpoint, and are obviously posed for the camera — pictures intended to idealise or mask reality — can be most revealing. They not only betray their intention to idealise — the *mise en scène* is obvious — but often also include telltale details that are incongruous with the purposes of the supposed or actual sponsors of the photograph. Such pictures can acquire new meaning when juxtaposed with other images or confronted by a newspaper article.

Of course we have also included photographs which still speak to us as plainly as they did when they were taken, simply showing, let us say, current fashions or a place of entertainment that may or may not be extant in our days.



But even such photographs have a message for posterity, particularly since they relate to a former socialist society: the notion that there were fashions and fashion models at all 'behind the Iron Curtain', with the accompanying infrastructure and lifestyle, may surprise some. And artefacts and interiors of the socialist 1960s and '70s had a style of their own.

The photographs and texts gathered in this volume carry the imprint of a period whose framework and ideology were determined by the almighty promise of socialism: a system which would not merely end exploitation — the human condition of defencelessness against the depredations of others — but, after having taken possession of the nation's assets, would also provide for each according to his or her contribution, or at the very least, needs.

In line with this vision, society and the economy underwent a radical transformation, one might even say, intensive modernisation, during the socialist decades — except that the economic model followed was basically a hundred years outmoded. The socialist-communist version of modernisation sought to realise its utopia by means of deliberate and total social control over every last detail of human life. This required the centralisation of authority to an extent previously unimaginable and the liquidation of personal sovereignty or 'spontaneity', as well as the restriction of freedoms and rights — that is, oppression — brutal at first, but acquiring a gentler guise as time went on.

Deliberate social control and centralised redistribution of wealth, based on the expropriation of assets or nationalisation, never worked exactly as intended. In the early stages, for instance, political power was focused essentially in a single centre: the national leadership of 'the Party'. In later years, however, a complicated and labyrinthine system for influencing decision-making evolved which was made particularly confusing by being largely based on informal relations. County-level party leaders, directors of large agricultural combines, bosses of large industrial concerns, heads of economic entities closely linked to the Party and state bureaucracy not only exercised *de facto* influence on decision-making but directed the redistribution of income along channels of their own.

The system became incomparably more wasteful than the capitalism it aspired to surpass. Supply seldom met actual demand, and then only by accident. There were extensive housing projects, but not of the kind people

wanted, so that while tens of thousands of flats were being provided in massive housing developments, the number of people on housing waiting lists actually kept increasing. Roads, bridges and underground crossings were also built, but often not where they were most needed, and always in insufficient numbers. Factories were being erected, but many of them produced only losses or goods unfit for anything other than exchange for similar trinkets from other socialist countries. Elementary and secondary education was made universally available, maintaining traditionally high standards as far as the basic curriculum was concerned — but at the same time the education system became increasingly cut off from the latest developments and from the kind of knowledge necessary to successfully negotiate these changes. This latter also held true for higher education, but here even the relative number of students fell far below the levels attained in most other

countries of Europe or in rapidly developing countries that had not chosen the socialist course to modernisation. Public transportation was cheap, but people also dreamed of individual solutions: they wanted cars of their own. Although the choice of products continued to improve, the gap between demand and supply kept growing; shopping often required a major investment of the consumers' time and

energy to obtain exactly what one wanted and in the desired quantity.

The uprising in 1956 clearly demonstrated that the 'dream' of a puritan socialist future based exclusively on intimidation and enthusiasm was not palatable to the Hungarian people. The brutal crushing of the uprising and the eradication of its memory from the history books, followed eventually by the increasing pressure of inevitable confrontation with this heritage, was all part and parcel of the Kádár era. At the same time, Hungary throughout this entire period was distinguished from the rest of the socialist bloc precisely by its ability to learn from the lesson of 1956. The Kádár-led political elite drew roughly the following conclusions from the uprising: of course, we have to build socialism, but in doing so we cannot constantly harass the population, for people want to be left in peace; if they are not required to prove their faith in socialism on a daily basis, they might grumble but by and large they will not challenge the system; since most people prefer a calculable and secure existence, hectic changes that upset the usual routine must be avoided; a constant increase in living standards must be the highest economic priority, for people who are not badgered and



are allowed to prosper stay basically content; they must be allowed to spend any income obtained from doing extra work, from wheeling and dealing, on themselves and their families, on housing, consumer goods and travel.

The conclusions drawn by the Kádár leadership from its examination of the role of writers, poets, and journalists in the intellectual background of the 1956 uprising shaped its policy toward the intelligentsia. It was decided that the widest possible spectrum of intellectuals should be brought over to the side of the regime by means of personal favours, by allowing writers relative freedom to publish their work (though naturally within the then existing gradations: 'support', 'tolerate', 'ban'), and offering them fairly generous material rewards. Explicitly or implicitly the overall aim was, as far as possible, that works capable of generating political conflict should never be written in the first place — that is, authors should practice a form of self-censorship.

'Whoever is not against us, is with us,' went the slogan said to have been composed by Kádár himself, reversing the Stalinist precept of pre-1956 Hungary ('Whoever is not with us, is against us'), while drawing on the popular wisdom of such proverbs as 'If my mouth doesn't speak, my head won't ache').

This is how the 'achievement' of the Kádár era — a series of small freedoms — came into being: first strictly as a concession, as something merely tolerated, but eventually dispensed more and more deliberately, almost as building blocks of the system. The first concession was the cultivation of household plots, later on share-farming, small-scale private enterprise, and, in the final years, the operation of 'entrepreneurial economic co-operatives' [*vállalati gazdasági munkaközösség*], all of which amounted to private enterprise under the guise of state or collective ownership — a secondary economic activity alongside one's main job in the state-controlled economy. Those who obeyed the rules laid down by the regime were even allowed to travel to Western countries every three years with a modest amount of hard currency. Initially this came as a reward for good behaviour, and was subject to the consent of the head of personnel and the party secretary at work; as time went on, more relaxed conditions came to prevail. Working overtime allowed people to establish a certain degree of autonomy and to retreat into *rituals of privacy*, although at the same time family energy reserves were often exhausted this way. Such opportunities for, and pressures of, the pursuit of happiness often deprived people of their last remnants of personal sovereignty.

After the extraordinarily cruel reprisals that followed the 1956 uprising — and which, as it became obvious by

the end of the era, had weighed on the conscience of János Kádár — the maxim 'We will not create martyrs' emerged as another peculiar feature of the specifically Hungarian model of socialism. Accordingly, the regime avoided overt repressive action (even in the form of removing or constricting the ability of making a living) against intellectuals who refused to compromise, or were downright active in the opposition. Nonetheless, a former representative of the Democratic People's Party (dissolved in 1949) was still sentenced to ten years' imprisonment at a political trial in 1964, large numbers of 'nameless ones' were convicted and jailed on political charges, and persons considered by the regime to hold openly and provocatively antagonistic opinions were harassed and intimidated.

Another characteristic feature of the regime was its policy of refraining from avoidable, abrupt changes — all in the name of calculability. The avoidance of conflict and the mentality of 'changes should create the least stir possible' were

viewed as crucial conditions for maintaining the prevailing sense of stability. When adjustments nevertheless proved necessary, continuity was emphasized and the changes played down: 'our goals have not changed, only our methods need to be adjusted; our regime is constantly renewing itself and the leadership is trying to make sure that the lives of working people remain undisturbed'.

However, the strain of having to compete

with capitalism while maintaining or trying to improve the modest level of living standards proved too much for Hungary's poorly performing economy. The beautiful future did not seem to be drawing any nearer, and as time went on less and less was heard of it. Moreover, the corrections increasingly needed to keep the regime alive changed the face of socialism to such an extent that eventually only its political power structure resembled its original self-image. As part and parcel of this, throughout the life-span of the regime its characteristic political taboos, rites, symbols and manifestations were retained, although their importance progressively diminished. The slogans used in official ceremonies inviting the people to participate in achieving the party's aims, and the entire choreography of sessions, processions, and ceremonial guards [*őrségek*] — representing, for example, the pioneers and the workers' militia — sought to keep the original ideological tenets on constant display. (Even as late as 1988 the Party published its 'May Day slogans', while officials responsible for party ideology and senior politicians continued to uphold the sanctity of the one-party system, using almost the same phraseology as in, say, 1958, however futile this might seem for a regime on its last leg.) Official policy still tried to maintain a semblance



of validity for the initial concept that socialism was the antithesis of capitalism and the Western world, but this ideology was increasingly reduced to little more than a kind of surface glaze, while being displaced by apparently trivial everyday concerns.

The regime was able to guarantee a calculable, minimal standard of living, but, with improved consumer possibilities, Western lifestyles unquestionably reigned supreme as the yardstick of consumerism. The burgeoning material world of consumer goods, design furniture, household appliances, weekend lodges, summer homes, cars and motorcycles, places of entertainment, and foreign travel turned out to be mostly a poor imitation of its Western counterpart.

From the second half of the 1960s one could breathe more freely in Hungary than in the other socialist countries, but the small freedoms which made this possible had been bestowed upon the populace by a 'magnanimous' state; they were not rights safeguarded by law and could therefore be withdrawn at any time.

Those engaged in private enterprise, wheeling and dealing, or making money outside official channels could be curtailed without warning or redress, should a conflict of either a political or private nature arise. Similarly, a recalcitrant intellectual could be punished by canceling his passport, banning publication of his works, or, as a last resort, by expulsion from the country.

The 'socialist national unity' — or, as it came to be known in the 1980s, 'national consensus' — frequently mentioned during the Kádár era was rooted in a compromise which was, of course, never formally contracted. People were given a secure livelihood, a chance for gradual material improvement, and relative freedom in their private lives in return for putting up with existing power relations and the absence of real freedom. For their part, the 'authorities' guaranteed rising living standards and relative freedom in exchange for political apathy and passivity. The result of all this was variously known as 'refrigerator socialism', 'goulash communism', or the 'soft dictatorship'.

The situation was sustainable only temporarily, as long as a year-by-year increase in the quantity of distributable goods could be ensured. The economy proved unable to provide the necessary conditions for this as early as the 1970s. Only the massive foreign credit delayed until as late as 1979 the beginning of the end: the visible crumbling and subsequent collapse of the supporting pillars of the Kádár era, and ultimately of the socialist system as a whole. It was not merely that income levels stopped increasing; some of the extensive social benefits that were

cited to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system also had to be cut. The number of apartments being built fell drastically and household budgets were more and more frequently turned upside down by substantial — and of course state-imposed — price increases. The much-vaunted 'calculability' and security of livelihood were shaken, and the party leaders, fearing the loss of political stability, while avoiding implementation of real changes that would cause conflicts, were repeatedly forced to take unpopular steps. To compensate for the latter they tried to introduce so-called 'public-mood-improving' measures, but these either made the country's financial situation even worse (as, for example, increased freedom of travel caused a draining of the population's savings to Austria), or had no more than a temporary effect, if any. When an attempt was made to implement cautious political reforms, it became clear that there was still a wide gulf

between slogans announcing democracy and the real intention of the government, which was to cling to power.

As time went on, socialism was able to retain only a few of its distinguishing marks, but these were sacrosanct. Such were the leading role of the Party, relations with the Soviet Union, general acquiescence in the lack of democratic civil rights, and the necessity of



consenting to a predominantly state-owned economy. Needless to say, these sacred cows were never referred to explicitly. As a result, the 'expectations' of the Party left considerable room for interpretation in designating those deemed to be breaking the 'rules' of the regime. During the 1960s, a young person 'looking like a hooligan' hurrying toward the Youth Park, or trying to hitch-hike; in the mid-1970s, the successful (nowadays we would say innovative, entrepreneurial) president of an agricultural co-operative branching out into industrial activities, along with the student celebrating the 15th of March independently of the centrally organised programmes, the avant-garde or simply autonomous artist, and the philosopher challenging the Marxist teachings of socialism and communism; and finally, in the 1980s, the newspaper editor who no longer saw it as his task to 'affirm achievements', and many others who viewed the regime as it were 'from the outside' (or, in the jargon of the day, those who 'in their attempts to find solutions circumvented the institutional endeavours of society'); all these people found out for themselves that the key Kádár slogan — 'Whoever is not against us, is with us' — was in no sense a legal norm, since those in power defined who was 'against us'.

During the 1980s all of a sudden no one seemed to identify with the regime any longer — not only those who had simply been putting up with it, but even those who were its representatives, either as Party members or in some official capacity. ('One is either unsure, or part of the dictatorship', as Péter Esterházy wrote of the situation a few years later.) Suddenly it seemed that everyone was merely carrying out orders, 'meeting requirements', only because compelled by 'them', meanwhile implying that he was doing his best to counteract orders. János Kádár had few to lay the blame upon but himself — not counting the Soviet Union — but even he had in his repertoire a kind of meaningful wink which could be interpreted freely as something like, 'I'm sure you all know what I mean'.

The regime 'did not work out', as one humorist had quipped, back in the late 1940s. In the end, it was not some nationwide upheaval that swept away the regime — it simply collapsed.

János Kádár came to power in 1956 at the age of 44 (the majority of his fellow party leaders were of a similar age), and celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday in 1987, still at the pinnacle of the power structure. On the latter occasion, not only did he look tired, but he was obviously unable to keep up with events and refused to see that the regime he had come to personify was collapsing. His comrades from 1956-57 had been removed from their posts over the years; the 'cadre re-shuffles', which had previously been carried out with some caution, had accelerated in the course of the 1980s to the point of panic-stricken haste. An infusion of fresh blood, not to mention Kádár's own replacement in 1988, failed to revitalize the regime. In the first half of 1989, when the most recent photographs in this volume were taken, almost everything was already quite different from what it had been before. Nevertheless, no one could have guessed or believed that socialism would come to an end within a matter of months. By the time people began to realize it, the Kádár era was already over.

...

We could not have completed this volume if we had to rely solely on the good communication between us, on our ability to work together in a pleasant and fruitful

manner. In the preparation of a book of this kind, the preliminary gathering of materials is inevitably quite expensive; it also requires the involvement of others. To this end we had to seek private funding, realizing that our enterprise needed a considerable investment, moreover one with uncertain returns. After some tentative exploration and one or two unsuccessful tries we found a publisher for the Hungarian edition, Te-Art Rt., willing not only to take care of the publishing side of things, but, with funding from the Tegnáp és Ma Cultural Foundation, even letting us decide — within the framework of a tender — who would design the book. We have taken the opportunity presented by the English-language edition to correct a few small errors which somehow crept into the original, adding also an index of names and enlarging the list of terms and institutions. The enormous preliminary work of choosing the pictures, and all the other technical tasks associated with the photographs, were undertaken

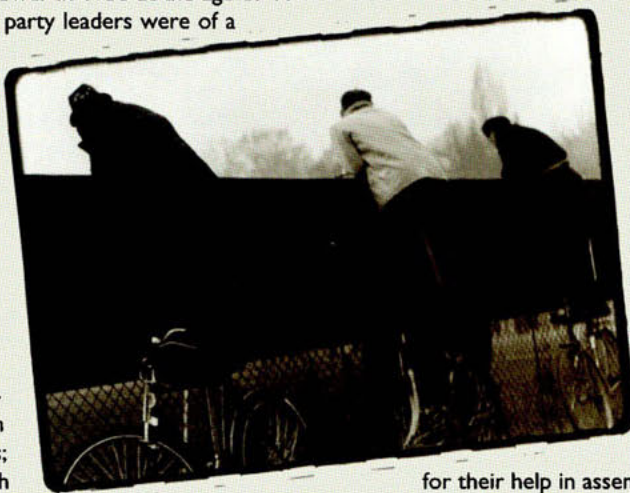
by Katalin Jalsovszky and Emőke Tomsics. Without their help, publication of this volume would not have been possible. With a view to supplementing the pictures they assembled we sat around in the Horus Archive with Sándor Kardos and other friends from whom we got a number of interesting photographs. We must also express our thanks to Mihály Gera, Vera Pécsi, and Júlia Veres

for their help in assembling the pictures.

We asked our history students to help us sort through the periodicals and newspapers which we thought important and to help choose press excerpts which suited our purpose. We would like to thank Orsolya Bagi, Csilla Bakody, András Cieger, Ambrus Gönczi, Iván Györffy, Judit Matusik, the Tóth-Barbalics siblings, Mónika Trepák, Tünde Wellendums, and Júlia Závodsky for their endeavours, and especially Krisztina Deák for her help in organising things.

Finally, we owe our most heartfelt thanks to those family members and friends who, with their advice, opinions, and encouragement supported us, and not only tolerated all the chaos and disorder that accompanied our work, but cheerfully accepted it.

András Gerő, Iván Pető



AFTER THE REVOLUTION



I.





**The Revolutionary
Regiments of the
Special Police Shall
Crush the Maggots
of the
Counter-revolution!**

János Kádár: If the counter-revolution sticks its nose out of its maggot-hole, they should not only shake their fists at them, but strike them down right away. But they should not flaunt their power against the people: they must always remember that this power must be used not against the people but against the enemies of the people.

Határőr, 14 February 1957





2.

3., 4.



150 Taxis Are Operating

At the end of last week, no more than 50 taxis were plying their trade in the streets of Budapest; by Sunday there were already 110. This week as many as 150 taxis will be available to the public. The plan is to continue to increase the number of taxis on the roads in the days ahead to make sure that the taxi company can operate at full capacity by the end of the week.

*Szabad Föld,
2 December 1956*

[Text on board: Food.]





Despite the False Rumors, There Will Be Enough Sugar and at Unchanged Prices

In some regions of the country—for instance Veszprém and Baranya—the rumor has been wafted around that there will be a sugar shortage. In other places, scare-mongers are terrorizing the population with stories that the price of sugar will go up. László Nagy, Head of the Sugar Industry Directorate of the Ministry of Food Supplies, in reply to an MTI correspondent, declared that both rumors had originated in thin air. Any talk of an increase in the price of sugar is untrue, and this year's good crop will meet the country's needs for next year.

Népszabadság, 29 August 1957

◀ 5. ▶ 6.

▶ 7.



[Text on wall: Strike = Poverty and hunger. Is that what you want?]

8. Election of the Worker's Council ▶





Widespread Raids

The Army Special Police News Service reports that in the course of a raid last night, the special police of the 2nd District of Budapest arrested five members of the Széna Square group of counter-revolutionaries. Several underworld criminals, anti-social shirkers, and prostitutes were captured at restaurants, escorted to the police station, and handed over to the police. A large stockpile of army uniforms and military equipment was discovered at the Retek and Fény Street apartments of those arrested. During recent raids in the 2nd District, members of the special police discovered in secret hiding places 4 machine guns, 54 submachine guns, 1 light automatic rifle, 75 infantry rifles, 20 pistols, 85 hand-grenades, 25,000 bullets, and 11 stolen military two-way radios. Other military equipment with a value exceeding 100,000 forints was also discovered.

Esti Hírlap, 29 January 1957

~ 9. Police raid

..... back: refugees return home ~



Ring in the New Year at Home

In Budapest, rumor has it that the curfew will be lifted on New Year's Eve. According to an official statement issued by the police, however, the existing curfew, lasting from 22.00 p.m. to 04.00 a.m. daily, will remain in effect and will not be rescinded, even for New Year's Eve. By maintaining the curfew, the police wish to maintain law and order, securing the lives and possessions of the general public.

*Népszabadság,
29 December 1956*

Announcement

I regret to inform my dear readers that, as a consequence of the events of October and November [1956], letters sent to me before 23 October, and all documentation concerning their contents, have perished. I will therefore be unable to answer these letters or to satisfy the requests they contained.

*Okos Kata ['Canny Kate']
Nők Lapja, 1 January 1957*



• 11. 15 March 1957

12. Bible class •

Classified Ad

Attention! Factories, workshops, and firms! Repair and refurbishment of all textile wear, work clothing, protective clothing, and quilted jackets ('pufajka') undertaken here. Plant No. 6 of Clothing Industry Small Co-operative, Budapest, IV (Újpest) Bajcsy-Zsilinszky út 1. Tel: 492-064

Népszabadság, 2 October 1958

'We Protest' Communiqué from the Roman Catholic Episcopate of Hungary concerning the Report of the Five-member UN Commission

The Roman Catholic Episcopate of Hungary—as already stated in its communiqué issued in April this year—heartily supports the Hungarian government in its efforts directed toward promoting the welfare of the Hungarian people, and thereby towards domestic reconciliation and world peace. (...)

The Episcopate is distressed by the report of the five-member UN Commission appointed by the United Nations to investigate the so-called 'Hungarian Question' and its debate at the UN: given its one-sided viewpoint, the report could escalate international tensions and endanger the country's real interests.

The Episcopate therefore cannot approve of the proposed debate on the 'Hungarian Question' to take place at the United Nations on the basis of such a report. (MTI)

Népszabadság, 30 August 1957





13. Confrontation of Ilona Tóth and Gyula Obersovszky

14. Graves in the square



Hungarian Delegation Returns from Moscow

Antal Apró: There is full consensus concerning the harsh condemnation of the treacherous role played by the Imre Nagy-Losonczy group. They [Moscow] approve of our struggle against the revisionist views undermining the power of the Party and the People's Republic [of Hungary], and against the subversive actions of the class enemy and the imperialists, in order to strengthen the revolutionary unity of the Party and the People's Republic—the dictatorship of the Hungarian proletariat—and to totally annihilate the forces of the counter-revolution. (...)

Also, there is full agreement between the Hungarian and Soviet governments, the Central Committees of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regarding all the political issues discussed. (...)

(...) the Soviet troops currently stationed in Hungary are here to help guard our national independence and the frontiers of our People's Republic against any external imperialist invasion aspirations and will stay here as long as they are needed.

(MTI)

Esti Hírlap, 2 April 1957



• 15. Sentenced to death

• 16. A day at the Municipal Court. Reading of the verdict in the case of István Eörsi (second from the left) and his associates. 23 May 1957.



Restored Red Star on Parliament to Shine Brighter than Ever

The red star on top of the dome of the Parliament building—damaged but not toppled during the days of the October counterrevolution—is now undergoing restoration. The turret of the dome is surrounded by heavy scaffolding and, over the next couple of days, tests will be run on a more modern lighting system for the star, which measures over 3 meters in diameter. Work on the divergent lenses which will enable the glowing star, equipped with a 3,000W incandescent tube, to shine more fully and more evenly has now been completed by Csepel Fémmű [Csepel Metalworks].

The red star, which weighs approximately 8–9 tonnes and is operated by an automatic timer mechanism, will shine once again on top of the Parliament building by 20 August at the latest.

Népszabadság, 5 July 1957

Speech by Comrade János Kádár

(...)

There can be no doubt that the counter-revolution would shortly have thrown Imre Nagy himself—its only communist member—out of the government as a superfluous, outdated relic (...)

In Transdanubia, particularly in the southern part of Bács County and along the Győr–Sopron road, well-organized, armed gangs of counter-revolutionaries, acting like beasts, have murdered communists, ordinary workers, peasants, and intellectuals by the hundreds, and indeed any progressive individual they could lay their hands on. (...)

On the trees lining the City Park the mutilated bodies of murdered revolutionaries were hung. In some cases, the murderers of the White Terror, unable to find the person they were looking for at home, murdered his family, showing no mercy even to the youngest children. (...)

Népszabadság, 12 November 1956



17. Reading of the verdict at the trial of Imre Nagy and his associates.

Concerning the Counter-revolutionary Nature of the Events of 1956

(For participants in the course 'Issues of the Day')

In pre-1956 Hungary, even if some mistakes were made, there was a dictatorship of the proletariat. The so-called 'uprising' was directed against this dictatorship of the proletariat. Its aims were to overthrow the rule of the working class and to restore the rule of the bourgeoisie. (This conclusion is supported by the whole series of events.) Were those who participated [in these events] aware of this? Partly yes, partly no. (...)

The main support base of the counter-revolution consisted of déclassé elements and common criminals. At the same time, it would be a grave mistake to deny the involvement of ordinary people, some of them, regrettably, workers (naturally, most of them were members of the 'lumpenproletariat'). Such people were deceived by the slogans of the counter-revolution, because the counter-revolution did not openly disclose its real aims, but kept them concealed for a long time. (...)

*György Kiss
Pártélet, March 1957*

JÁNOS KÁDÁR

First among the ordinary people



Comrade János Kádár is 50 Years Old

(...) When the power of the working class and the socialist social order came under threat, you spearheaded the struggle to protect the power of the people and directed the work to build our socialist social order.

On behalf of the Presidium of our People's Republic, I wish you strength and good health. Let me also express the wish that the virtues which benefit our people, who are building socialism and our socialist social order, never abandon you. You are capable of being humane, because you are human. You can be tough, if need be, because you have enthusiasm for the cause of the people and the socialist ideal, because you love the working people and our socialist homeland. You know and understand the thoughts of the masses, you know and understand the joys and desires, but also the grievances of the simplest of people.

(...) (MTI)

Népszabadság, 26 May 1962

18. After a mass meeting ▾



▾ 19. On Miners' Day.



Comrade János Kádár is 60 Years Old Today

(...) Crises could not break, but rather reinforced his character and humanity. His actions give expression to the integrity and faith of the working class—which has risen to become the leading class in society—in socialism, and the firm will of our nation to build a socialist society in our homeland. (...)

(...) your firmness of principle, intelligent revolutionary spirit, sense of reality, simplicity, deep humanity, and faith in people and the nation have always been of invaluable support to us in our work. The great achievements of the last fifteen fruitful years are inseparable from your name, creative work, worker's virtues, and communist integrity. (...) We wish you great joy from your creative work carried out for the benefit of the people, with which nothing can compare.

A comradely salute from the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party!

Esti Hírlap, 26 May 1972

On János Kádár's 75th Birthday Greetings from the KB [Central Committee] of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party]

(...) Our Party, which you have led by virtue of the trust placed in you by communists and the people for more than thirty years, is on course to fulfill its historic mission. Our homeland, despite all difficulties, is living through the most successful period of its modern history, and our people can boast of epoch-making achievements. During these years, Leninist principles have been realized, the Party is the leader but not the ruler, and its main aim is to put itself in the selfless service of the homeland and the people. We have learned that socialism is to be built for the whole nation, and that this can be done only with the involvement of the whole nation. (...)

Népszabadság, 26 May 1987



~ 20. At a Party congress



21. At a factory general assembly



~ 22. With the workers of an agricultural co-operative

~ 23. On a factory visit

All Value Is Generated by Human Labor

Report on Comrade János Kádár's visit to Szabolcs-Szatmár County

(János Kádár:) (...) Look, at one time I was even a shepherd. It's the best job in the world. I was in charge of the livestock, so the farmer would often ask me how I was doing. He never took the trouble to ask his own wife, because the livestock was worth money, and she wasn't. I would be happy to be still working in such nice surroundings, under the open sky, but, you know, someone has to do my job too.

Szabad Föld, 9 June 1963





◀ 24. With his wife

25. Arrival at the railway station—with his wife ▶

János Kádár: Some Experiences of Building Socialism in Hungary

(...) It is never the aim of communists to escalate class war, yet we have to take such a possibility into account; we have to be ready for such an eventuality, because it is our duty to protect the revolution. We also have to consider that, although in the international arena today the focus is on *détente*, peaceful competition between social systems, and warfare that is merely ideological, imperialism has not abandoned its attempts at political subversion and interference in the affairs of socialist countries. The scope of the functions of the socialist state is in the process of constant expansion and modification. In Hungary today the primary functions of the state include organization, leadership, and economic and cultural organization and education. The essence of socialist power and the socialist state is democracy. (...)

Népszabadság, 23 January 1977.







27. With Brezhnev

Demand the Use of Appropriate Forms of Greeting!

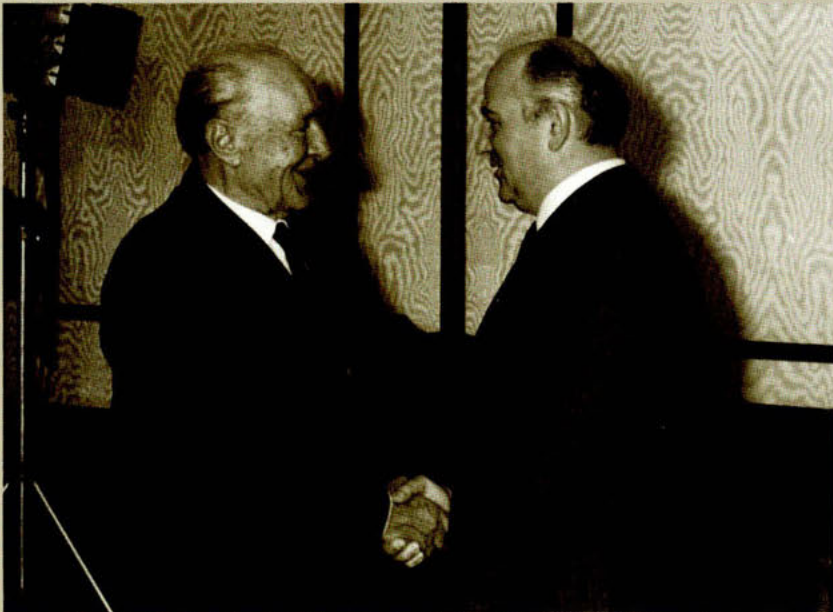
The Regulations ordered quite some time ago that greetings appropriate to the time of day should be used in schools, particularly in Budapest and the larger towns in the provinces; however, this order has so far remained a dead letter. In elementary schools especially, the forms of greeting appropriate to the time of day have been slowly but surely disappearing beneath a welter of 'kezücsókóloom' [I kiss your hand] and 'csókóloom' [I kiss]. The greeting 'I kiss your hand' was introduced to Hungarian civic life from Vienna as an imperial 'labanc', legacy of the ill-fated marriage of the Hungarian state with the Habsburgs. This turn of phrase slithered onto the Viennese asphalt from the usage of the Austrian imperial court, which had borrowed it from Spanish court etiquette. The greeting 'I kiss your hand' quickly became popular with Hungarian intellectuals of the old regime, who faithfully copied forms of social greeting used by Hungarian bourgeois-capitalist circles well known for their pro-Viennese mania. From them it spread more widely, entering common usage in cities and towns, and even in the villages in their proximity, as a gallant or affected form of greeting used by men. This greeting, however, did not enter democratically into general usage, but turned into a more elevated, discriminatory salutation directed toward women, standing pretentiously above the use of those 'lower' forms of greeting that are geared to the time of day. It is therefore understandable that our post-liberation political and social life, which has new goals, came to condemn this form of greeting, although we have not been able to eradicate it completely. As time went by, this form became ever shorter as a result of the usual erosion of frequently used longish words ('kiss your hand', 'kissy-hand', 'kissy'), until it was finally reduced to 'I kiss'. In this way, the phrase lost its tangible connotation of 'I kiss your hand', and, in the crossfire of ideological disapproval, presented itself as a defensible refuge in the uncertainty surrounding forms of greeting in the post-liberation period (...)

Naturally, our teachers must not make the mistake of preaching water and drinking wine. They must be the first to break with the use of 'I kiss your hand', and to use the forms of greeting appropriate to the time of day. They must emerge from the murky atmosphere of the Middle Ages emanating from the intelligentsia's bat-tower of courtly etiquette, which makes all men either practice or suffer the use of this discriminatory way of greeting their female relations. They will have to abandon the timid want of principle which blends smoothly into the syrupy etiquette practiced by some groups of intellectuals.

János Ladó
Köznevelés, 18 March 1958



~ 28. Hungarian Party and government delegation in the German Democratic Republic 29. With Gorbachev ~



~ 32. With Novotny



~ 33. With Tito



~ 30. With Dubček

31. With Khrushchev. ~







Chess Teaches Perseverance

– Comrade Kádár, how do you evaluate the role of chess in society?

– (...) The social impact of chess on the lives of peoples is important and growing in this respect too, that it provides perhaps even more cultured entertainment and real relaxation for the working individual in his spare time or for the pensioner.

– What is the value of chess for education and what influence does it have on young people?

– Among the influences of the game of chess on individuals and collectivities engaging in it, as well as on society, I would first of all emphasize its character-building and mind-developing positive qualities for young people and its enormous pedagogical impact. For the young people who come to love the game of chess, playing it gives them a mental boost and teaches them perseverance, self-discipline, and objectivity. (...) I fervently believe that the game of chess has great significance for pedagogy and I welcome the fact that in the Soviet Union—and also in Hungary—we are encouraging more and more young people in the Pioneer movement, and the teenage, student population in general, to get to know and cultivate chess.

Magyar Ifjúság, 14 November 1980

János Kádár Downtown

(...) The daily work schedule of the First Secretary of the Central Committee included this visit to the capital city, just as the downtown area was going about its regular daily business. Tram No. 2 was full of passengers as usual, and Comrade Kádár got on at the tram stop in front of Central Committee Headquarters. The two leaders of the capital city—Comrades Maróthy and Szépvölgyi—had invited János Kádár to take the tram with them along the bank of the Danube to their first destination of the day: the new Forum Hotel, which had just been completed and was now open for business. For the first few seconds, the other passengers looked at their fellow-traveler with great astonishment, but a friendly comment or two from Comrade Kádár quickly created a relaxed atmosphere. (...)

Népszabadság, 5 March 1982



• 35. Among pioneers

36. Traveling on Tram No 2 •



37. After the hunt •



Time Interview with János Kádár

Question: After thirty years in power you seem to have avoided the formation of a cult of personality. Was it a deliberate strategy on your part?

Answer: I have never aspired to rank, and in some ways not even to 'popularity' as such. In my opinion, anyone who thinks that he is making history is a fool. Everyone has his own job to do. If it becomes part of history, so be it. I have always been of this opinion, and at times I have had to pay for it. A person needs to have a good and clear conscience to be on good terms with the outside world. Ordinary people don't spend a lot of time every day looking at their reflection in the mirror, but it is important that, when they do, they have nothing to be ashamed of.

Question: What is the guarantee that the achievements of the last thirty years will survive?

Answer: I believe that the Hungarian people appreciate the achievements of the last thirty years, namely that there is legality, that all who want to work can find it, and that living standards keep improving. People are aware of this. They do not discuss these things every day; instead they complain about what they haven't got. Which is understandable. At the same time, should our people come to believe that what we have achieved hitherto was under threat, they would rise to defend it.

Question: Has the identity of your successor been decided on yet?

Answer: Succession is of course an interesting question, but I don't think about it. I believe that, more important than questions of personnel . . . [is that] when I finally give up my current job, I firmly believe that there will be no change in the main party line. There are a number of guarantees to ensure that. (...)

Népszabadság, 9 August 1986



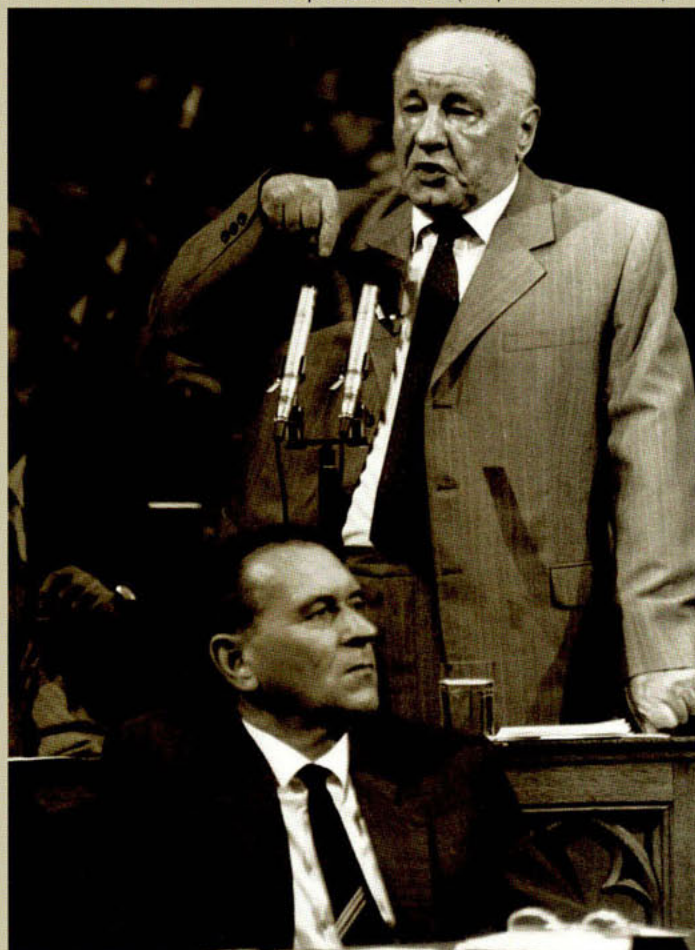


~ 40. A new voice in Parliament

41. Speech in Parliament (Károly Grósz seated in front) ~



~ 39. 1 May. Together with Pál Losonczi and György Lázár



42. At the
national Party
conference
of the MSZMP
with his wife



Party Spokesman on an Operation Performed on János Kádár's Hand

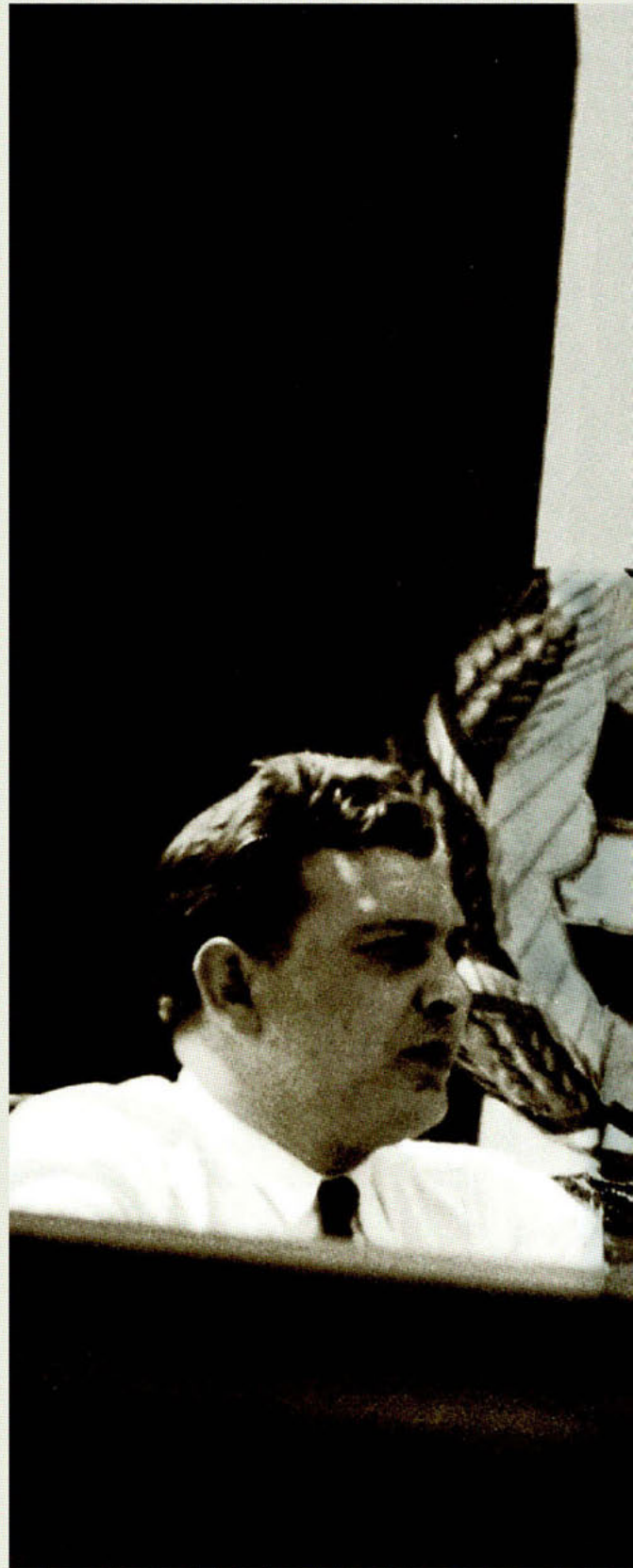
In refutation of the rumors which had been spreading throughout Budapest, László Major, Spokesman of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, told Hungarian National TV's Week program that János Kádár, Chairman of the MSZMP, had had a minor operation on his right hand, because he had had difficulty moving his fingers. Having undergone microsurgery, the Chairman of the MSZMP requires rest and so will be unable to attend the session of the Central Committee due to begin on Tuesday.

Népszabadság, 21 November 1988

COMRADES



3.





Thoughts to Guide the Work of Party Disciplinary Committees

(...) Unrelenting struggle against the enemy and its intrigues in all their forms. Fight against the activities of right-wing revisionists and anti-Party elements intent on disrupting Party unity and sapping the Party's fighting power. Fight against sectarianism and dogmatic views and their incorrigible representatives. Unceasing struggle for the enforcement of the correct Party line and the implementation of the Party's resolutions. (...)

Géza Asztalos, member of the Central Steering Committee
Pártélet, January 1957

43. György Marosán



44. Béla Biszku

'János Kádár Is Our Guest, That's Why We're So Merry.'

That you must love your homeland and other peoples is a law of your pioneer lives—this is because other peoples are good and the future we are fighting for is the freedom, brotherhood, and friendship of various peoples. And we wish our people to live freely, well, and happily alongside other peoples and to see everything that is important to the people flourish. At the same time, I must tell you that he who wishes to live an ethical life in our society must learn to work and to do his duty wherever his training and inclinations place him, be this work of a physical or of an intellectual nature. He who wishes to earn honor for himself must be aware that he can do so only through labor.

The boys and girls gathered here are at an age when they often tidy their hair and make sure about their clothes because they want to look smart. Very well, but it must be said that whether a person is born blond or brunette, tall or short, is neither his merit nor his fault. He is, however, responsible for his own character—his human and moral beauty—which stems from his ability to live up to his duty to society, the family, and his fellow men. Therefore, those who are not satisfied with the color of their hair should not be downhearted, because human beauty stems from human values and not from outward appearance.

Pajtás, 23 June 1966



• 45. Ferenc Münnich (the former émigré to Moscow) with his wife

Medals Earned with Blood

Never has there been a commemoration like this one! Fathers, mothers, wives, and children could not hold back their tears on hearing the names of their loved ones read out. Grieving mothers and widows, broken-hearted fathers, and timorous orphans had to be supported as they walked up to receive their medals. One-legged, battle-scarred soldiers stood in line, waiting to hear their names announced. Surviving defenders of the Party's Budapest Headquarters received the medals they had earned with blood, as did the nine officers who had volunteered to defend the Party Center, lower ranks and officers of Budapest Revolutionary Regiment No. 37, and members of the special police.

'A communist,' in the very words of Comrade Kádár, 'who behaves as if he ruled the nation, or as if he stood above it, is not a good communist. A good communist is someone who leads the nation in work, and who stands by the people in war and in trouble, in good times and in bad, and leads them. We are not cruel,' said comrade Kádár, 'but allow me to say that we are not sheep either. We shall no longer tolerate a knife being sharpened against the people and the people's government being stabbed in the back by this knife!'

E. L.

Magyar Ifjúság, 17 August 1957

Church Leaders Issue New Year's Circular Letters

The leaders and bishops of Hungary's churches have addressed circular letters to clergymen and church-goers on the occasion of the New Year.

Part of the circular letter of the Catholic Episcopate of Hungary, which was delivered in every church on New Year's Eve, reads as follows:

We sought to establish and maintain good relations between church and state in the outgoing year and encountered a like intention from representatives of the state. (...)

The achievements of our people, won with devoted labor, and the measures adopted by the leaders of our state for the benefit of our nation made us rejoice.

Our farming people are establishing new communities by entering into agricultural co-operatives and, together with those who farm on their own, are working to raise living standards by increasing output.

Szabad Föld, 10 January 1960

How to Overcome Religious Influence

(...) It is some cause for concern that in recent years—particularly since the counter-revolution—many Party members, and even Party officials and leaders of the communist state, have come under the influence of religious ideology, going to church, confessing, taking holy communion, and sending their children to Bible classes. (...)

The secretary of the village council of Csákány in Somogy County—who is otherwise a Party member—stresses that he goes to church because he does not want to stand apart from the masses. Reports from Veszprém County indicate that party members even make donations to the church. In one miners' community some miner party members offered their priest their coal allowance. (...)

The fundamental conflict between science and religion is obvious. Science relies on facts, scientific experiments, and strictly controlled conclusions supported by real-life observations. By contrast, religion bases its postulates on the Bible and other fictitious traditions and phantasmagoria. Religion teaches people not to believe in progressive science and to doubt scientific achievements, to doubt practical experience and to leave everything to God's will. This is not contradicted by the fact that some representatives of the clergy dare not openly reject scientific achievements because if they did so they could be easily exposed: in fact, they insist that they are the friends and protectors of science.

Gábor Takács
Pártélet, April 1958

• 46. Leaders of the Catholic Church swearing allegiance to the Constitution in the presence of the President



Not behind His Back

(...) We have still not been able to completely get rid of such malicious gossip, whisperings into ears, and intrigues, despite the fact that they are all alien to the communist outlook. Who can tell why this is the case? Are these the remnants of capitalist morality, the suspicion and lack of trust which have developed in recent years, a misconstrued vigilance, or opportunism and cowardice? Most likely a combination of all these [factors] in many places still hinders the formation of an atmosphere in which frankness and open and honest expression of opinions is possible. (...)

András Nagy
Pártélet, February 1961



• 48. Zoltán Komócsin [Text on board: Loyalty to the people, loyalty to the Party]



• 49. Ferenc Erdei, former Peasant Party politician



• 50. Ferenc Münnich





51. In the chamber of Parliament. In the first row, György Aczél and Pál Losonczy; behind them, Sándor Gáspár and Jenő Fock.

Culture and Responsibility

(...) under socialism there can be no sustainable economic progress without intellectual, moral, and cultural enrichment. And under no socialist regime is progress measurable simply in terms of material wealth. There should be no misunderstanding about this: GNP per capita, cost-effective production, stable consumption, and the growth rate of the economy as a whole are today the focus of our attention for a good reason; we need a more dynamic economic growth in order to fulfill our social objectives. Nevertheless, the 'state of socialism' continues to be measured in any particular situation in terms of the 'meaningful life per capita' of the population.

György Aczél
Népszabadság, 4 June 1984



• 52-54. Sándor Gáspár and György Aczél, members of the Politburo, sharing a cigarette



Creative Action for Socialism—The Revolutionariness of Today.
Sándor Gáspár's [November 7] commemorative speech for radio and television.

Népszabadság, 7 November 1971

Announcement

The Hungarian News Agency has been officially authorized to make the following announcement:

In answer to the call of party and state figures in neighboring Czechoslovakia, the government of the People's Republic of Hungary, together with other allied countries, shall come to the assistance (including military assistance) of the fraternal Czechoslovak nation in order to avert the threat of a counter-revolutionary uprising organized by internal anti-socialist and external imperialist forces. (...)

We are pitting the unity and solidarity of fraternal socialist countries against the iniquitous exertions of the enemy. We shall never allow anyone to tear a member of the socialist community out of our midst.

Népszabadság, 22 August 1968





• 55. Lajos Czirgő (the Minister of National Defense)

56. Miklós Németh (election of the last Prime Minister of the communist regime) •



Talking Openly about Freedom of the Press

Dictatorship of the proletariat: class dictatorship and coercion directed against the class enemy. This requires also the silencing of the press of the class enemy. We have our own tragic example to learn from—[we know] where demands for freedom of the press, without regard for [such considerations as] time, space, and social class, can lead: freedom of the bourgeois press. Last spring, a kind of 'freedom of the press' began to emerge here: a freedom of bourgeois ideals rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the working class, the leadership of the party, and internationalism. (...)

Who in this country forbids the press to scourge our errors, aberrations, and shortcomings? No one. Who demands that the press put our achievements under a magnifying glass and claim that our regime already offers more than the most advanced capitalist regimes which grow fat on the exploitation of other nations? No one. The only limitation is the requirement that the press put all its efforts toward strengthening our equitable social system. And we are happy to undertake this [task]. (...)

Élet és Irodalom, 1 November 1957



Party Press

57. Communist journalists

(...) According to the latest survey findings, 820 daily newspapers and other publications were issued in 13 million copies. The Party press accounted for a significant part of this. The print run of the leading MSZMP newspaper *Népszabadság* was 730,000–750,000 copies on weekdays and over 800,000 copies on weekends and national holidays during the past year. The cumulative run of the Party's 22 county and local newspapers reached 900,000 in August this year. If we were to add to this total the periodicals *Pártélet* [Party Life] (nearly 120,000 copies monthly) and *Társadalmi Szemle* [Social Review] (38,000 copies monthly), the total print run of Party publications reaches 1.8 million. This means that at least one but frequently several Party publications reach nearly every household. And this is particularly significant, given that the Party's publications are a direct mouthpiece of the policies of the MSZMP. (...)

Jenő Faragó
Népszabadság, 14 October 1973

THE PARTY CALLS





58. Local Party leadership meeting [Text on board: 'Be Firm and victory shall be yours' (Lenin)]

59. Report of the Council President at the village assembly

On the Shortcomings of Communist Work in a Village

(...) The general meeting had been announced for 7 p.m. It turned 8 p.m., then 8.30 p.m., but of the more than 30 members of the local Party only eight had actually turned up. Expressions of frustration and indignation. Finally, the meeting had to be rescheduled: 'The general meeting will definitely be held in the evening, the day after tomorrow.'

Bálint Asztalos, Nagyecséd
Pártélet, June 1959

Let's Enforce Party Policy in the Sports Movement

(...) some Party secretaries who are staunch fighters for ideology in matters of politics turn into club-chauvinists when they enter the sports ground. The physical education and sports movement is not the 'private concern' of sports leaders and sportsmen but a matter of social concern. (...)

Imre Terényi
Pártélet, November 1958



[Text on board: 'Welcome to the participants in the Village Assembly']



~ 60–62. Village propaganda work [Text on sign: Village with an agricultural co-operative]



61. [Text on sign: Long live Marxism–Leninism, the invincible ideology of our age!]

Ferenczi Can Now See Further

(...)

– How long have you been a communist?

– I joined the Party on 4 April 1961. But I guess I had become a communist before then. And that has a story attached to it. I was a farmer with 12 hold of land: I never thought about the outside world or politics—only the land. My father-in-law was put on a list of ‘kulaks’, and after he had been ‘cleaned’ of all his possessions, I was next. My wife must have said something that someone didn’t like. She was sentenced to three and a half years’ imprisonment for malicious incitement (...).

A communist called József Bíró, Party secretary of the village at the time, stood by me. And as a result of his intervention my wife’s case was reviewed and she was rehabilitated after eighteen months in prison. It was then that I began to think and to see the difference between communist and ‘communist’. That was when I began to think about the ways of the world. (...)

Sándor Gali

Szabad Föld, 25 September 1966



62. [Text on sign: A gift from the working class to agricultural cooperatives] ~



63-66. Protest and solidarity

[Text on board: No to the neutron bomb!]

Trust, Integrity, Conviction

(...) In the course of the personal consultations preceding the renewal of Party membership-cards, not a few people remarked that many communists seemed to have lost their fighting spirit, which made them dissatisfied both with their fellow-members and themselves; at the same time, they don't know how they could work up more of a fighting spirit under the present circumstances. (...)

István Koncz

Népszabadság, 11 December 1976



64. [Text on wall: We condemn imperialism!]



[Text on placards: People of Chile—we are with you!]

Imperialism = private ownership—exploitation—oppression—war.

The revolutionary spirit of today = commitment to building socialism, better work, greater knowledge.]

65.

[Text on placards: Peace for Vietnam! Vietnam shall prevail! Down with Johnson!]



~ 67. "Polbeat" [political rock] concert



~ 68. Youth Guards [Text on board: Our path and that of the Party and the people are one and the same.]

~ 69. 'Long live 15 March!' [Text on placard: The youth of 1848 fought for it and the youth of today know how to use it!]



The Revolutionary Spirit of Today

As Szivar [Cigar, also meaning guy] Sees It

What does one of the representatives of the young people who engaged in militant revolutionary action three-and-a-half decades ago think about the revolutionary spirit and the young people of today? Dr Gábor Csillik, who was known in the workers' movement by the cover name 'Szivar', retired recently from the Department of Interior Affairs.

– The world has changed a lot. Our everyday lives have become more relaxed and peaceful. Members of the new generations have grown up in peace, under conditions of consolidation. And this includes the teenagers of today. The question arises: do we still need a revolutionary spirit today? Of course we do! By revolutionary action we mean not only direct action: for example, Che Guevara entering a neighboring country and fighting with Fidel Castro for the freedom and independence of the people. Actions of this kind are needed only at particular moments in history. However, revolution is a more permanent condition. (...) The world has changed in such a way that it has become a lot more difficult to recognize what counts as revolutionary and what does not! Revolution is made up of tiny, everyday actions: studying, honest work, helping those weaker than oneself, cultural development, and so on. Generally speaking, going about in the world with one's eyes open! Because those, for example, who are not interested in politics can have no knowledge of what is going on in the world or of what our tasks are. (...)

György Czippán
Ifjúsági Magazin, March 1980

From Marching Song Competition to Disco Music

Youth Guards at a regional review

'Rise up Reds, Rise up Proletarians ...' blared the music accompanied by the rhythmic steps of the marching troops, an entry in the formational marching song competition. The mass of Youth Guard troops dressed in pale green uniforms was brightened up by the warm-up suits, white shirts, and red ties of the Pioneers. One of the evaluation criteria of the marching song competition was the assertive, articulate diction of the song performed while marching in regular formations, and its harmony with the rhythm of the marching feet. (...) In a close competition the First Youth Guard Troop of Csepel Művek [Csepel Works] was pushed into second place by the First Youth Guard Troop of the XIXth District (the competition hosts) by only a few points. In the evening, the program concluded with a film show and discotheque.

Csepel, 29 May 1981

Commemoration of the 15th Anniversary of the Liberation of our Homeland

Our diocesan council recalls with shame that, during the criminal mutiny of 1956, some members of our church, having put their faith in the arms raised against the freedom of the people and encouraged by support from religious circles abroad, went gravely astray and rose up against the higher authority of the church and descended to the rank of collaborators with the counter-revolution in both written and spoken words as well as acts of subversion. Our diocesan council resolutely condemns and stigmatizes the shameful actions of this group who betrayed their vows both as clergymen and as citizens. As a consequence, it now invalidates Resolution No. 4 of the diocesan council meeting held on 21 December 1956. At the same time, it is happy to be able to conclude that the majority of our clergymen and believers withstood the test. Having confessed all this and once again committed ourselves before God, we shall offer ardent prayers and blessings for our homeland, our people, state, and government on the fifteenth anniversary of our liberation. May the Holy Trinity, the eternal and true God guard, protect, and lead our dear nation and make every valuable fruit of its liberated life long-lasting.

Reformátusok Lapja, 6 May 1960

PIROS ARCCAL JÖTT E HAJNAL



~ 70. 'Long live 15 March!' [Text on board: 'This dawn has arrived with a red face.']

~ 71. 'Long live 1 May!' [Text on banner: The Party's policies express the interests of the working class and the whole working nation!]

1848-1919-1945

(...)

The youth of 15 March are in ideological brotherhood with the sons of 21 March and the youth of 4 April. All three anticipated and brought about a historical turning point and fought for national goals, world freedom, and the progress of humanity.

The Red Caps of 1848 fought at Piski, Nagysalló, Szolnok, and Branyiszko for their own cause and for all the oppressed nations of Europe, just as the [Hungarian] Red Army of 1919 fought at Léva, Miskolc, Szolnok, and Kassa. Similarly, the resistance forces in 1945, the partisans and fighters for the rule of the proletariat fought for both the Hungarian people and the realization of the socialist social order, as well as for the triumph of proletarian internationalism. (...)

This year—it has now become a tradition—we celebrate all three together. But the young generation of 1969 today bow their heads first of all before the heroes of 1919, who half-a-century ago vowed to turn the most progressive, the most humanistic, and the truest ideal into reality and an organizing principle in their homeland, even in the most desperate situation imaginable, when they were encircled by the enemy. (...)

Ifjú Kommunista, March 1969





72. 'Long live 4 April!' [Text on sign: Manufactured beyond the targets set down in the plan—for the 20th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland]



73–74. 'Long live 20 August'

[Text on board: Our people; text on signs: Forward!—the Pioneer movement is 39 years old—'All for one and one for all!']



1957 | May Slogans of the Provisional Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

1. Long live 1 May, the great celebration of proletarian internationalism!
2. Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the leading force of the People's Republic of Hungary!
3. Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the guardian of the revolutionary traditions of the Hungarian nation, and protector of the independence of our homeland!
4. Long live the Revolutionary Worker–Peasant Government, the protector of the power of the people, which was born in struggle!
5. All true patriots must unite for peace and a socialist Hungary! Long live the Patriotic National Front!
6. Let us consolidate the People's Republic of Hungary, the state of workers and peasants!
7. Workers! Be vigilant and fight against the enemies of the people's power!
8. Long live the Soviet Union, the faithful friend and number-one support of nations fighting for world peace and socialism!
9. Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the standard-bearer of the international communist movement!
10. Long live the unity of the socialist bloc, the guarantee of our freedom and independence!
11. A fiery salute to the true friend of our people—the great Chinese people and its leader, the Communist Party of China!
12. A brotherly salute to the peoples of the peoples' democracies and their communist and workers' parties, who support our nation and fight on together with us to build socialism!
13. Long live the fraternal communist parties in the capitalist countries, flagbearers of the struggle for the freedom and independence of their peoples!
14. Long live peace! Long live the fighting alliance of the peoples fighting for peace!
15. Long live the peoples of Asia and Africa who are fighting against imperialist and colonialist oppression for their freedom and independence!
16. Down with war-mongering imperialists, the ferocious enemies of peoples!
17. Workers! Comrades! Let us protect and strengthen the unity of the party and the working class!
18. Workers! Employees! Your labor will ensure a happier future for our homeland! Lay down firm foundations for the national economy by consolidating discipline at work, increasing production, and reducing costs!
19. Long live the working class struggling to achieve new successes in production! Long live our heroic miners!
20. Long live trade unions, the mass organizations of the working class, hardened by struggle!
21. Long live the alliance of the workers, the working peasantry, and the intelligentsia, faithful to the people!
22. Working peasants! Members of co-operatives! Workers on state-owned farms! Provide bread for the nation and do everything in your power to provide plentiful crops!
23. Intellectual workers! Faithful to the people and the homeland, and giving the best of your knowledge, work to see socialist culture and science flourish!
24. Long live the Communist Youth Federation, the organization of the best of Hungarian youth, the faithful helper of the Party!
25. Hungarian women! Protect the home and the family! Bring up your children to love the socialist homeland!
26. Together with the people and under the flag of Marxism–Leninism—forward for a socialist Hungary!

Budapest, 20 April 1957

Népszabadság, 21 April 1957

75. 'Long live 4 April!' >

[Texts on some of the placards: We have been raised by the Party/ Onward along the path of Lenin/ Work, study, and discuss politics!/ Don't tolerate indifference! You can trust youth with unshakable faith!/ Forward together with the Soviet Union]



ELJEN APRILIS 4.
30 ÉVE SZABADON

Dnyanda!

1848
MÓRICSEJ
1948
MÓRICSEJ

MMP

Beke
BARATSKO

KÖZÖSSÉGBEN A
KÖZÖSSÉGERT!

NE TÚRD
KÖZÖMBŐSÉGET!

A JOVÓ EMBERE
a közömbös
EMBER

TANULJ
DOLGOZ
POLITI.

Az ifjúságban
hisztis
munkássá!

30.

A PART KISZ
GYŐZELME VÉ

APRILIS
ÉLJEN
a KISZ
PRILIS!

NE 1
KÖZÖN

Dolgozz
tanulj
politizálj!

ELJEN
APRILIS 4.

ELJEN
A PART

Bennünk a
PART NEVELT.

Dolgozz
tanulj
politizálj!

KÖZÖSSÉGBEN
KÖZÖN

Ugyanúgy
a tanulás!

30.

ÉLJEN
A KISZ

TOVÁBB
A LENINI
ÚTON

XI.

BEKET

ELJEN

TOVÁBB
A LENINI
ÚTON!

ELJEN

ELŐJÁRUNK
A HARCBA

XI.

PART ÉS A
KISZ
GYŐZELME VÉ

Éljen a
PART!

30.

ELŐRE
A SZÖVET
MIOVAL

ELJEN
A PART!



The 1988 1 May Slogans of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

76. 'Long live 1 May!' [Text on placard: We welcome the reform efforts of the SZKP (Communist Party of the Soviet Union)]

1. Proletarians of the world—unite!
2. Long live Marxism–Leninism!
3. Long live 1 May!
4. Long live Hungarian–Soviet friendship!
5. Let us strengthen friendship between the peoples building socialism!
6. Long live the solidarity of communist and workers' parties!
7. A world free of nuclear weapons!
8. A peaceful present and a secure future for humanity!
9. We support the cause of peace and security in Europe!
10. Combine international efforts for implementation of the development program!
11. Onward to fulfill the national economic plan for 1988!
12. A salute to collectives and workers who perform outstandingly.
13. Young people! Study and work hard for social progress!
14. Develop socialist democracy to strengthen the power of the people!
15. Renew national unity for progress!
16. Forward under the Party's leadership for socialism, along the path of reform!
17. Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party!
18. Long live and prosper our beloved homeland—the People's Republic of Hungary!

Népszabadság, 16 April 1988.

MEETINGS



5.





77. Party Congress [Text on board: Onward along the path of Lenin]

K-line

Representatives of worker-peasant power have already been portrayed by 'dissident' writers as repulsive on several occasions, but I don't think anyone in recent years has written about the Party and state apparatus in the same tone as Judit Fenákel. (...)

Actually, one fails to understand how these cruel, behemoths, who steam-roller all opposition and brook no contradiction, would ever allow a writer (who alleges that she is scared and intimidated by them) to revile them in such a manner—and for good money—in a periodical which is controlled by them and funded by the state. I can find no explanation other than that the 'representatives of the K-line' are much more sober and humane than this distorted, false representation of them would have us believe.

(Gerencsén)
Pártélet, March 1971

*See Judit Fenákel: 'K-line.' Kortárs, February 1971



~ 78. County-level Party conference

79. General assembly of an agricultural co-operative ~



**Official Report of the Meeting of the
Central Committee of the MSZMP
Held on 4 December 1984**

(...) The best way to achieve our goals is to raise the standard of the economy and to improve organization and work discipline. In accordance with the need to develop the system of economic management, the central authorities should raise the standard of their work, increase the independence of corporate management, and create conditions for increased involvement of workers' collectives in decision-making. Companies, co-operatives, and councils should draw up their own plans in accordance with political-economic requirements and after careful consideration of their own potentials. Party organs and organizations should help in the achievement of our economic goals by their political activities. Campaigning and propaganda should enable the working masses to have a clear understanding of our aspirations and to support them by disciplined work. The socialist labor competition which was developed in honor of the Party's XIIIth Congress and the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland—with particular regard to the quality requirements of production—should contribute to the fulfillment of the national economic plan of 1985.

Népszabadság, 6 December 1984



80. Nomination meeting [Text on board: Long live and prosper the Socialist People's Republic!]

81. Worker mass-meeting

Long Live Our Dear Candidate!

(...) Our enemies regularly criticize the fact that there is only one list to vote on, but they somehow forget to mention how this list is arrived at. They forget to mention that all along, at thousands of meetings, hundreds of thousands, indeed millions of people have debated about who were the most suitable persons for the post of council member or MP. It would be a very cheap victory indeed to compare this system with the election system of civil democracies and to look into how candidates are chosen there. Not to mention what and whom they represent...

Erő Mihályfi

Magyar Szó, February 1967



[Text on sign:
Every minute is precious, make better use of it!]

Snapshots from Election Day

(...) The Szemerédis, who live furthest away, are also here. They had cycled more than three kilometers—about half way—when they discovered that [Mrs Szemerédi] had left her glasses at home. They did not turn back, so she can hardly see a thing. But it is not her, but her husband who shares her troubles with the crowd around them. — All these people here are decent folk—he points to the names on the voting slips—I don't want to hurt any of them by crossing their name out. (...)

TASS [Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet Union] has been reminding people that the vote took place after the XIIIth Congress of the MSZMP and the 40th anniversary of the country's liberation. After an election campaign which has actively debated the tasks arising from Congress resolutions, the electorate has voted for the flourishing of a socialist Hungary—wrote the [Soviet] news agency's correspondent.

Katalin Borbás
Népszabadság, 10 June 1985

Official Report of the National Election Presidium

On 19 March the election of Members of Parliament and council members was carried out in a lawful manner.

The number of those eligible to vote based on the register of names and the supplementary register was 7,215,408. Of these, 7,131,151—or 98.8 per cent—exercised their right to vote. Of the votes cast for parliamentary candidates 7,105,709 were valid, and 25,442 (0.4 per cent) were not. Of the valid votes received 7,096,596 were cast for nominees of the Patriotic National Front—99.7 per cent of all votes cast—and 19,113 persons (0.3 per cent) voted against them. (...)

Népszabadság, 22 March 1967



82. Village leaders of the National Front

83. Brigade meeting



[Newspaper headline: The Current International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union]



84. National Front general assembly



85. Women's Day

Let's Talk about Agricultural Co-operatives

(...) We must, however, remember that a new change in life-style is difficult, even after lengthy mental preparation, and induces great emotional crises, even if the financial advantages of the change will be tangible and the change is an inevitable consequence of economic development, as in the case of agriculture and the village in Hungary. (Remember the initial complaints of liberated serfs.) In this respect, Catholics may have a very timely role to play: to explain to agricultural workers... what a wide scope they have for exercising Christian virtues in the course of their life within the co-operative.

E. Sz.

Új Ember, 22 March 1959

86. Meeting at the workplace



At the agricultural co-operative office [Text on flag: Production drive challenge flag of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary. Outstanding co-operative] 87.



A MAGYAR
FORRADALMI
AS-PARASZT KORMANY
DORZS SZLOJA

MEZES TELER
KIVALO
METKEZETI GAZDASIG



^ 88. Youth cellar club

89. Group of amateur actors ▾



No Miracle Cure!

(...) However strange it may sound; dancing should not be left out of the new forms of entertainment. Very properly, the decree talks about dance parties. But at KISZ club afternoons featuring cultural programs, such as listening to records or other more sophisticated forms of entertainment, dancing is also permissible now and then. There are also holidays, the summer, Christmas, and Easter vacations. It is much more desirable for students to dance at school at 'club afternoon'-type evenings featuring a range of programs than at locations less under the control of parents and teaching staff.

László Tóth
Népszabadság, 26 November 1959

GUARDIANS OF THE SOCIALIST REGIME





János Berecz: National Consensus

(...) The reality of national consensus, a most expressive term, has evolved as a result of the joint efforts of the Party and Hungarian workers. National consensus is not, however, a static, unchangeable state of affairs, given once and for all. The formation of socialist unity within the nation is the outcome of historical development and a source of progress, while national consensus is a political instrument which calls for and induces constant renewal. (...) Many are asking the question: 'Does the aspiration resting on national consensus still exist to do everything in our power to maintain living standards and to improve living conditions?' The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has not abandoned this goal. (...) In other words, the goal remains the same, but it will have to be achieved in a new situation. The deterioration of international conditions, of economic and political circumstances, has not yet come to a halt, and both our work and our living standards are facing a challenge. We must therefore take account of the fact that such a situation is bound to create controversies also in our social reality. We have every reason to say that an organic part of our political activity is the timely elaboration of a plan of required actions and, if necessary, the introduction of well-thought-out reforms in the most diverse areas, but particularly in the economic sphere. (...)

Népszabadság, 20 August 1982

90. On the way to the polling station



Small Change?

(...) The appeal came at the end of October to make a contribution to the construction of a training institute for skilled workers in Vietnam. There are a 110 of us and we have pledged 4,000 forints. 'If you are so keen on the idea, several people said to me, 'go and get us some work to do.' So I did. We signed up with the 11th District Real Estate Developers (IKV) to do house cleaning. The job had been rejected even by the Cleaning Company. Seventy people promised they would join in; thirty-one actually turned up. One couple even sent their two children to their grandmother to make sure they could come. It must be said, with such reduced numbers all we could earn was 1,600 forints. Those who had not turned up paid the rest out of their own pockets, however, so we managed to get the 4,000 forints together in the end. (...)

Appearances have been kept up. Has any community service been done? Yes. Has the money been paid? There are invoices to show that it has. Has KISZ met its commitment? Far from it. It has substituted it with a gimmick (...)

Katalin Mogyorósi, Érd
Népszabadság, 23 August 1975



~ 92-93. 'Long live 4 April!' ~



We Asked:

Is the Pioneer Uniform Compulsory?

(...) 'We expected parents to object to the rise in the cost of the pioneer uniform's' said József Tóth, Secretary of the Federation of Hungarian Pioneers. 'Last year, a Presidium meeting discussed various possibilities for lightening the load. We tried to obtain a VAT exemption for Pioneer uniforms, but the Finance Ministry would not hear of it. We have also contemplated giving a grant to those in need, but we do not have the means, and in any case it is difficult to determine who would be most deserving. The only possibility left is to declare the pioneer uniform no longer compulsory.'

Népszabadság, 15 February 1988

Pioneers Celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the Pioneer Federation with a Dress Parade

(...) The 10,000 pioneers aligned in closed square formations ceremonially renewed their vows in front of their peers and parents, and confirmed their commitment to live, work, and study in a manner worthy of a socialist. The cannons set up in the City Park fired a salute to honor the Pioneer Federation which was celebrating its 25th anniversary. (...)

The group of those taking their vows cleared the path in the middle of the square: the merry march of more than 20,000 pioneers from Budapest and the provinces began. The march was spearheaded by a model of Lenin's famous armored car bearing the Party's flag on its hood, and followed by a fleet of military armored cars adorned with flags. (...)

Népszabadság, 8 June 1971

Documentary Collection of Ágnes Keresztes
I Met Lenin and Talked to Him

In his study there was a writing desk, cupboard, candle, washbasin, and towel. Perhaps he had not even noticed when I entered. I sat down on a chair and called out, 'Good afternoon'. Lenin looked up. 'What do you want?' 'I would like to work in a factory. This is what I would like to ask your approval for. There are five of us, brothers and sisters. We need the money because my father is an invalid and my mother is ill. My brothers and sisters are at home. I am the oldest child. Therefore I cannot go to school. We cannot afford it.' Lenin handed me a piece of paper. 'There you are.' I asked: 'Is this the approval?' 'Yes.' 'Thank you.' I said good-bye. Lenin watched me leave and then returned to his work.

Erzsébet H.

7th grade student [13 yrs old]
Élet és Irodalom, 23 September 1978

**Official Statement of the
 Presidium of SZOT**

We admit it with a clear conscience: the support given to our class brothers in Czechoslovakia serves an honorable, decent workers' cause: it is our true proletarian, internationalist duty to protect the power of the workers. We are defending socialism, the most important thing of all, the fruit of the labors of the people of Czechoslovakia, who have a history of revolution, hard struggle, and suffering. Imperialist propaganda is seeking to present our selfless comradely support in a distorted way, by turning its meaning upside down. Which is no surprising. It would have been surprising if the had acted differently.

(...)

Népszabadság, 8 September 1968



~ 94. 'Long live 7 November!'



~ 95-96. 'Long live 1 May!'



Trade unions understand the problems, but they will take action in defense of the workers' interests.

Magyar Nemzet, 18 November 1983



~ 97. Workers' Militia

~ 98-99. 'Long live 1 May!'



What Kind of Mothers-in-Law Do Trade Unions Make?

The air between two cymbals—what is it? For those who don't know the answer to this riddle, let me quickly add that the question concerns not a 'what' but a 'who'. The air between two cymbals is the trade union activist. Those involved will, of course, roar: Air? What do you mean air?! (...) As [they] are often poorly informed, we should not be surprised about the existence of this opinion modeled on the familiar mother-in-law joke: A trade unionist is someone who interferes with everything but knows about nothing. (...)

— Kovács -
Csepel, 5 July 1988







Running the Workers' Militia

(...)

[Therefore] our task is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat as a class. This happens under the Party's leadership but in the course of the activities of the class state. It is in this that the Party's role as leader lies (...)

László Ruzsbatzky

Commander of the Workers' Militia of the 8th District
Pártélet, December 1959

Young Women in the Workers' Militia

(...)

Magda has been a Workers' Militia for nearly ten years and she is the company's second-in-command. Otherwise, she is a spinner at Kender Jutá. And a communist for twenty years. In 1956, at the time of the counter-revolution, she was—among others—in the factory guard throughout. During the days of the counter-revolution Magda matured from a young girl into an adult. 'The political lesson was over,' and she, like everyone else, had to decide which side to support. She did not hesitate for a minute.

—Previously, I hadn't a clue what the Party was about, what it meant to be a communist and to belong to the working class. In 1956 I came to understand the notion of the enemy and that we must guard and defend the power of the workers.

She became a Workers' Militia. She called for a weapon and she put it on her shoulder.

What calm assurance, purity, and honesty characterize this young woman. Her blue eyes and flaxen hair give her a slight resemblance to the partisan girl Anya Morozova in the TV movie *Caught between Two Fires*. She is fully conscious of her role as a female worker and a communist.

Erzsébet Szebelkó

Nők Lapja, 5 March 1966





~ 102. Military parade

103. Military exercise ~



Border Guards at the Hostel

(...)

'I read information leaflets, *Pesti Műsor*, posters', said border guard Dezső Szabó. 'I keep in touch with public cultural events in our capital city. I have a positive relationship with the institutions of public culture, with ORI and a couple of theaters. Probably this is why we were able to get to see the concerts by Boney M, Osibisa, and black spiritual group the Jubilee Singers held in the Congress Hall of the Academy of Sciences. We have already heard, that Tina Turner is coming to Budapest on 25 August, and I will try to get as many tickets as I can.'

József Danyi
Határőr, 3 August 1979

Where Have the Songs Gone?

Every soldier knows that close order drill is an important part of military training: it enhances discipline in soldiers and develops their ability to perform uniform operations—political marching songs and soul-stirring soldiers' songs have an important psychological role to play in making this basic task more dynamic and enjoyable. They have a positive emotional influence on the individual and boost collective feeling.

Zoltán Kiss
A hazáért, 26 January 1966



Nimble-fingered Border Guards

104. Border guards

(...) At the traffic checkpoint, overseen by Captain Comrade János Sipos, border guards are engaged in an unheard-of task: they are embroidering richly adorned tapestries and wall decorations. The soldiers were taught tapestry embroidery by Lieutenant Comrade János Oláh, political deputy of the FEP. Nimble-fingered border guards quickly learned the art of embroidery and are now so perfectly skilled that it is impossible to distinguish one contribution from another, each piece of tapestry or wall decoration being prepared by a number of people. (...)

Határőr, 29 July 1958

My Ambition Is to Become a Soldier

I have been a regular reader of your paper ever since I was little. In one of your numbers a couple years ago you wrote about 'soldier women'. I decided then that I would become a soldier too. I am now 19 years old and I am working. In the autumn I would like to enter an economics college. My one and only dream, the only thing I would fight for, is to become a soldier. Dear Editorial Staff, could you please inform me where I should turn to and what I can do to achieve my goal?

Margit Kovács, Budapest

Answer: Our editorial staff have made inquiries with the competent authorities. Women cannot be admitted into the People's Army. We therefore regret to inform you that there is nothing substantial we can do to help

(...)

Néphadsereg, 20 June 1970

Emil Madarász: 'Toast'

(...) 'János Kiss, border guard', his father toasts him, a respected member of a factory guard –

'I am glad to see you so gallant and loyal.

Although it will take some time before you rank to a lieutenant's will climb.

(...)

So let us drink, border guard, to our great office,
Let us drink, my son János, to our strong weapons,
To our beautiful young Party, our red victory.

Drink, János Hero,*

To our great faith.'

Határőr, 4 April 1957

*Reference to *János Vitéz*, an epic poem about a peasant boy who becomes a hero



105. 11 months of military service before starting university

106. Soviet troops stationed in Hungary



The First Russian Lesson

(...)

The topic of the televised lesson was the systematic analysis and drill of the reading passage entitled 'Pioneer Abrosimov'. In the short story Pioneer Abrosimov is on his way to school when he discovers that a rail has been broken along the railway line and a train is getting ever nearer. The ingenious boy quickly unties his red pioneer tie and starts to wave to the engine driver, stops the train, and saves the lives of the people on it. The grammatical aspect of the lesson was the inflection of masculine nouns. (...)

István Morvai

Köznevelés, 2 February 1964

HEROES, ROLE MODELS, AND STARS







107. The Hungarian cosmonaut Bertalan Farkas and his deputy Béla Magyar

Space Travel between Stop-press and Stop-press

(...) Bertalan Farkas, researcher-cosmonaut on Soyuz-36, made the following statement before lift-off:

'Fellow citizens, dear friends!

I am honored to be the first citizen of the People's Republic of Hungary and member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to participate in a joint Soviet-Hungarian space program on board the Soyuz-36 spacecraft and the space science laboratory Salyut-6.

I am proud that our homeland is able to participate actively with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in research into the cosmos for peaceful purposes as part of the Interkosmos mission. It gives me particular joy that this mission will take place in honor of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland. Let this space mission serve the invincible and eternal friendship of our peoples and countries! (...)

Magyar Ifjúság, 6 June 1980



• 108. Meeting of veterans

109. Socialist brigade [Text on wall: 'Working, studying, and living the socialist way.'] •

Work Competition . . . Instead of News Reports

Normally, this space features news about work competitions and the socialist brigade movement; news which does not exist. Every week we find it more and more difficult to fill this column: sometimes it is left out altogether, on other occasions just enough news can be scraped together to fill this already tiny space. (...)

Csepel, 27 May 1983





110. Gagarin in Budapest—with Mrs Kádár ◀

The First Few Minutes

(...) What was your first reaction upon hearing of the success of Major Comrade Gagarin? Marton Tóth, border guard and driver: 'I was at home on vacation when I first heard of the great event. The first few minutes? I think we discussed the fact that the Americans had suffered yet another defeat in the race to explore the cosmos.' (...)

A hazáért, 19 April 1961

◀ 111. Veteran



112. Kossuth-Medal-winning coal miner ▶





113.
Stakhanovite

114.
Soviet veteran





115. *The Szabó Family* radio series

The Szabó Family

(...) All in all, the program *The Szabó Family* is literary and artistic garbage. Kitsch, if you like.

(...)

... people rush home for 19.05 every Tuesday to listen to it ... and [some even] enter into correspondence with the Szabó family (...)

One of the most significant aspects of our cultural revolution is the revolution in taste. And this is the front where today the forces of socialism are not as solid as they should be. (...)

István Morvay
Élet és Irodalom, 14 April 1962



'They Said on the Radio...'

Neighbors, a TV series similar to *The Szabó Family*, is watched by 5.3 million people every fortnight, according to the latest surveys (...)

Pál Pető Gábor
Népszabadság, 2 December 1987



116. TV announcers

Modernizing Radio Telecommunications

(...) In recent years the proportion of political broadcasts in the number of radio programs has been increasing. While in 1962 the share of news and information programs was 7.4 per cent, in 1964 it was 8.4 per cent, and in 1965 10.2 per cent (including Morning Chronicle). (...)

The modernity of a radio program is primarily determined by its content: such a program should be permeated by socialist ideology, the issues must be current and addressed to the man of today. (...)

Magyar Sajtó, July–August 1965

117. *Neighbors* TV series





• 118-119. TV competition *Who-Knows-What?* •



Not the Beatles!

– Will you be coming on Sunday to watch the Hungarian Beatles? (...)

The entrance is crowded, but the police are admitting the audience, eager to dance, only one at the time. (...)

– I can see you are slightly disappointed—remarks one of the organizers accompanying us—because you cannot see a single young man or woman dressed like a hooligan. Come along—he invites us further in—look at the band, listen to them, and take a look at the dancers. (...) Well, the musical group of Bercsényi College does not resemble the Beatles either in appearance or style. They make no provocative movements while they play, which they do decorously, they wear their hair normally, and dress like the average student. Indeed, they are students themselves, most of them at the Technical University. So who are the members of the band? The leader is Lajos Illés, second-year student in mechanical engineering; the other members of the band are Ádám Farkas, fifth-year student in mechanical engineering, Gyula Halász, fourth-year student in roads and railways, Károly Illés, second-year student in TV electronics, József Nényei, third-year student in medicine, János Körmendi, fifth-year student in medicine, and singer Zsuzsa Koncz, winner of the dance song competition *Who-Knows-What?* (*Ki-Mit-Tud?*), and fourth-year student at the Dániel Berzsenyi High School. (...)

A Jövő Mémöke, 5 March 1964

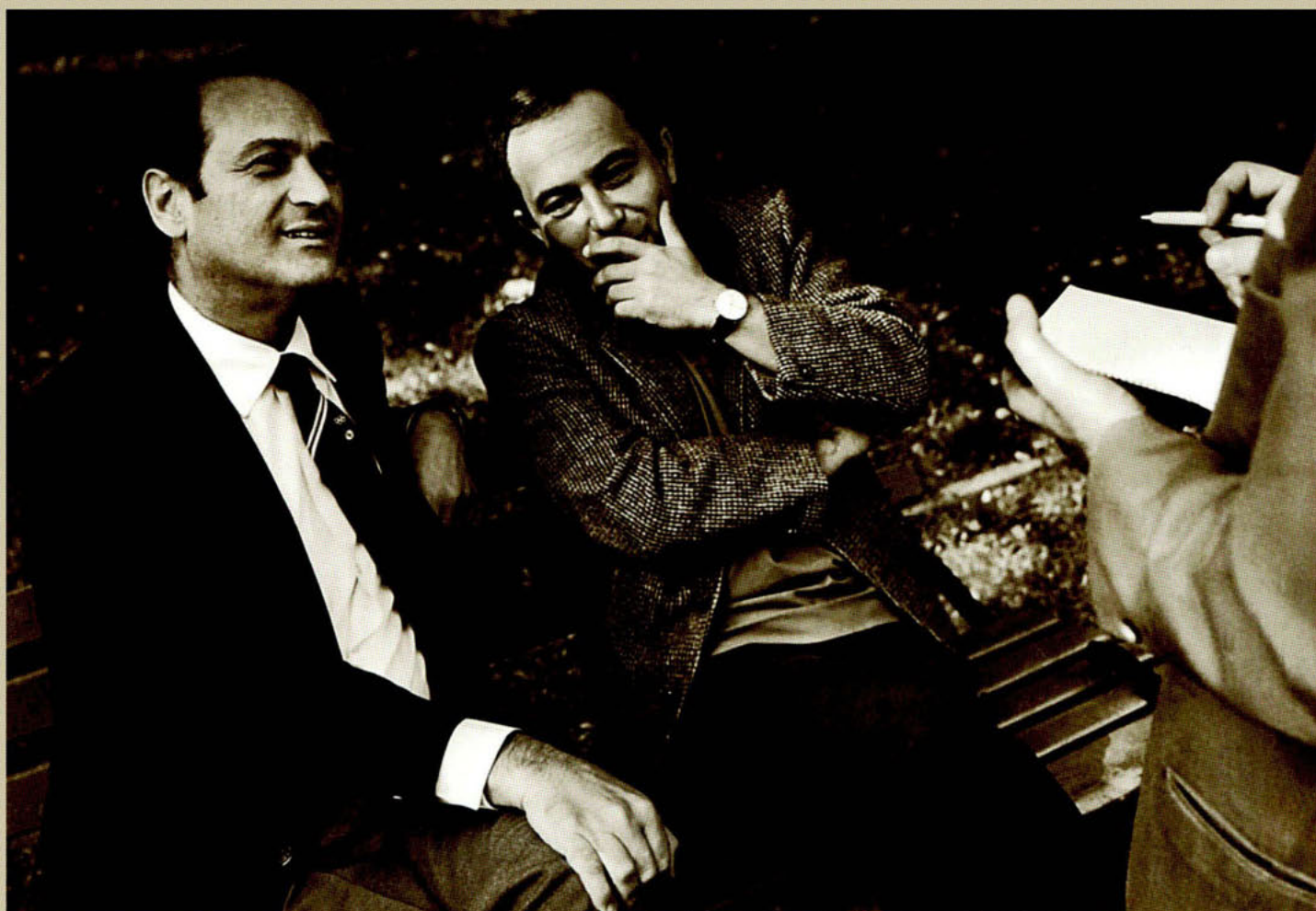
The Adventures of Sándor Rózsa

Neither television nor the cinema studio (which produced the film for television) have ever undertaken a task on such a huge scale before: in contrast with the 12 episodes of Sándor Rózsa, each lasting one hour, the longest series shot previously—*The Captain of Tenkes* and *The Adventures of Bors Máté*—were less than half the length of this super-production. (...)

(G.M.)

Néphadsereg, 13 February 1971





• 121. Sports commentators



TV-Teddy

Someone told me how ridiculous he thought all this hype about the new TV-Teddy was. He couldn't remember the number of times its arrival had been announced, with considerable fanfare, as if it mattered how TV-Teddy looks when he brushes his teeth before the bed-time children's program; as if this was the most important problem we had to deal with in our 'complacent country'. (...)

The other day I was invited to a club in a small town to make a speech to initiate a debate about our domestic situation, economic policy, culture, and sport. I prepared rather well in advance and tried to express myself clearly, then I sat back and waited for the debate, which did not take long to get going. An elderly woman rose to speak and complained that TV-Teddy slams the door every time it leaves the bathroom after washing. According to the speaker, this is incorrect, and she reminded the audience that in the past this was not what children were brought up to do. (...)

József Árkus

Népszabadság, 23 October 1977

• 122. The stars of the bed-time children's program:
Manócska and Mazsola [Pixy and Raisin]

123. Making science popular •



t temperatura = hőmérséklet
l longitudo = hossz
v velocitas = sebesség
L labor = munka
h height = magasság
N Nutzleistung = hasznos munka
min



124. Winners of the lottery jackpot

How to Get Rich Today and Its Limitations

I read somewhere that the inventor received between 90 and 100 million forints for the Rubik's Cube. Someone once asked him on the radio where he stood among the richest people in Hungary. Ernő Rubik answered that he was in the top ten. Later, the Deputy Finance Minister revealed that he was not even in the top hundred. Some people in the more prestigious and affluent locations in Budapest are taxed on real estate deals worth well over 10 million forints, and others engage in one new enterprise after another as financial investors. The wise invest in paintings and objets d'art, while those seeking safe ways to invest buy bonds on a large scale. Many claim that the safest ventures are real estate and antique jewelry, while the really rich invest their money in whatever they think will make them even more money—without having to work for it if possible—at a good profit and little or no risk, all in the name of hedging one's bets.

'In Hungary he who works, prospers', goes the familiar saying. In addition, or even on the contrary: in Hungary not only those prosper who work. To put it differently: he who works usually has no time left to make money. To summarize the message of the round-table discussion: there is a great deal of truth in that statement.

Do not begrudge even the wealthiest if they have earned their money by hard work. Let us have as many inventor-millionaires as possible, and as few people as possible who grow fat from bending and even breaking the law. This aspiration has been around for a long time. It is about time someone did something about it. There seems to be practically nothing to stop anyone from getting rich in Hungary today, and the opportunities to do so are virtually boundless.

István Hajdú
Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 2 December 1985



We Asked Ernő Rubik—What Does a ‘Socialist Millionaire’ Do with His Money?

(...)

– I am constantly asked whether I am a millionaire. Whether I feel myself to be a rich man. I know how I am supposed to answer such questions. Nevertheless, I would say that the main reason why I feel rich is because I can use my head. (...)

– Could it be said that the money you have made has come purely from added value?

– I think this object here—the ‘Rubik’s Cube’—is a good example of that. It is easy to make, it does not require the latest technology. And the greatest part of the added value in this case derives from a single intellectual asset: the patent. (...)

András Mezei

Élet és Irodalom, 21 May 1982



125. The inventor: Ernő Rubik



• 126. Soccer player Flórián Albert (wearing dark socks)



Hungarian Sportsmen to Boycott the Olympic Games

(...) Current circumstances do not allow Hungarian sportsmen to participate in the XXIII Summer Olympic Games. In April the Hungarian Olympic Committee—and the Olympic Committees of several other countries—appealed to the International Olympic Committee and the Organizing Committee of the Los Angeles Olympic Games to do everything in their power to ensure that sportsmen from all over the world could compete in the Games under equitable conditions and in safety. The [Hungarian] Committee has expressed the hope that the problems threatening the Games can be averted.

The Olympic Committees of the socialist countries have, since that time, continued their efforts to ensure that the ideal of peace and friendship between nations prevail at the Olympic Games, to end the propaganda war being waged to incite hatred against the socialist countries, and to obtain genuine guarantees of undisturbed and safe participation and competition for all delegations.

The Hungarian Olympic Committee held a meeting on 16 May to review the situation. It regretfully concluded that the well-intentioned appeals of the socialist countries had not been properly heeded. A number of ultra-right-wing circles in the United States are continuing their efforts to put the competition at the service of propaganda against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. (...)

MTI

Esti Hírlap, 17 May 1984

• 127. Soccer player 'Csikar' Sándor (in the white shirt)

More Understanding and Objectivity!

'This is a complete disaster!' 'This is where Hungarian sport has ended up!' 'If I were the head of the Football Association or the President of the MTS, [Hungarian Bureau of Physical Education and Sport] I would hide my head in shame!' 'The way the national soccer team played against Austria was not very inspiring, to put it mildly.' (...)

It is true that the performance of our best international soccer players was far below expectations. But have Brazil, England, Spain, and the other great soccer-playing nations never hit rock bottom? (...)

F.S.

Szabad Föld, 11 October 1970

Fradi-Szombathely Match Abandoned with the Score at 2:2

(...) The events which unfolded at the Üllői Street stadium have nothing at all to do with sport. At a quarter to seven, when the match was supposed to end, the grandstand had already been abandoned. Under the cloak of dusk, the Szombathely players (surrounding goalkeeper Hegedűs who wrapped a scarf round his face) sneaked back to their team bus through the back entrance, while outside the stadium hooligans were throwing stones at the police and a nasty brawl had got under way (...). How much lower can we sink?

Sándor Árvay

Magyar Nemzet, 2 October 1983

128. Pentathlete András Balczó •





129. Beauty queen and her maids of honor

European Boxing Championship Hosted by Bulgaria

The Bulgarian sea-shore did not bring much joy for the Hungarians, as in the finals they had no luck at the Golden Beach of Varna: both Váradi and Alvics had to be satisfied with a silver medal. Our bantamweight contestant was defeated by Olympic champion Lesov of Bulgaria in unusual circumstances. During the final seconds of the first round, there was a clash of heads, and by the time the Bulgarian reached his corner, his eyebrow had started to bleed. No medical assistance could be sought during the break, as that would have meant throwing in the towel. When the second round began the Italian referee escorted Lesov to a neutral corner, and, on the doctor's recommendation, ended the fight.

The Hungarian team began to celebrate Váradi's victory, unaware of the new rule according to which final bouts ending in the second or third round due to one of the boxers retiring hurt must be decided on the basis of the points awarded up to that point. Even on this basis, Váradi would have won by 3:2, if it hadn't been for another new rule, according to which the jury is entitled to overrule the judges. This is exactly what happened, and Lesov won 5:0.

In no other sport is a similar procedure followed in case of injury, depriving the uninjured player of any possibility of correcting or reversing the final result. The Bulgarian Emil Zechev, head of the Referees' Committee of the European Boxing Federation—and head of the judges—awarded the gold medal to Lesov himself.

—Of course we appealed straightaway, but in vain, said Ferenc Varga, President of MÖSZ. [Hungarian Boxing Federation] The actions of the Bulgarian Zechev in this instance were clearly in conflict with his senior position in the international federation. I hope nothing of the kind will take place at the European Championships to be held in Budapest in 1985. László Papp commented only that he had been attending competitions for fifty years and he had never encountered such a thing before. (...)

Magyar Nemzet, 17 May 1983



The Twist

The church is trying to use dancing to win over young people. Even the Vatican is using such stratagems. For example, it has opened an ecclesiastic ballet school using young clergymen as instructors, and is encouraging other young clergymen to perform in jazz bands. The other day *Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican's official newspaper, published appreciative article about 'Padre Rock', the rock-'n'-rolling seminarist from Tuscany. The church is trying to lend its support to dance forms which send young peoples' heads into a spin. Furthermore, this is not a bad business to be in from a financial point of view either, as they could easily have learned from American chicken traders! In return for its support for the Twist, the Vatican is winning over quite a few young people and making a great deal of money. No wonder the church has a leading role in spreading the Twist throughout Europe.

But the Twist is not the most character-building form of entertainment for young people. Its wriggling movements are not only demented but also erotic. It is not one of the most moral dances around. In several European countries, strict regulations have been issued to ban the Twist. But if it is the fashion, so be it! It is danced by the stars and by young people in the West. And businessmen continue to milk it for all it's worth: Western newspapers these days are full of ads offering Twist-outfits, Twist-ties, Twist-drinks, Twist-perfumes, Twist-LPs, Twist-lighters, Twist-bars, and Twist-stars. There are also Twist-priests. And the King is Chubby Checker. This is what a dance craze is like. This is what culture is like – in the West...

Pál Hegyi
Magyar Ifjúság, 12 May 1962

Youth Park, Budapest 1964

(...)

'We are not going to use administrative measures to ban this brazen and wriggling dance', says Péter Peredi, head of the local Youth Guards, a KGM official in 'civilian' life. '[In fact,] the more reasonable majority are increasingly turning away from such people. (...)'

László Rajnák, Manager of the Park, notes that the music of the amateur bands, admittedly decadent at times, is counterbalanced by the more sophisticated playing of the Bergendi Band (the official band). (...)

Comrade Rajnák also noted that the refusal of young women to dance with scruffily dressed young men is more effective than any ban imposed by Youth Guards could ever be. (...)

Népszabadság, 12 July 1964

'Rock' in the Army

A policy decision on principle has already been made in the form of a senior-level party decree on cultural life in the army. 'We must satisfy the interest young soldiers take in dance music, but at the same time we must try harder to promote songs that come from socialist countries and improve the musical tastes of the soldier masses.' (...)

It is not that 'Rock' as such should be excluded from the military garrison, but its paltry imitations and unacceptable content must go. Pop music is not only a form of entertainment but a particular outlook. Political songs and folksongs with a guitar accompaniment have been familiar for a long time. This year the Youth Magazines Publishing Company published a modest booklet entitled *The World in Turmoil*. It contains thirty songs with guitar accompaniment. The titles include: 'Recruiting Song', 'March to the Left', 'Song of the Communist Regiment', 'Red Army Recruiting Song', 'The Maquisard', etc. They all have catchy melodies which cry out to be danced to. So let's play them!

Rudolf Kutas
Néphadsereg, 13 December 1966

• 130. The Illés Group (the most popular Hungarian pop band) 131. The state-sponsored disk jockey •



Advertisement Albums of the Month

Matt Bianco

Latest album from the 1986 MIDEM award-winner. Two of the hits on the album: "Yeh, Yeh"; "Dancing in the Street."

WEA
SLPXL 37 055
Price: 250 Forints

Edda 6

After last year's smash hit concert album, Edda—one of our most popular rock bands—is now offering this studio recording.

SLMP 37 031
Price: 110 Forints

What's all the hype?

Neoton Família

On this Christmas special the Família play happy, joyful songs about love, peace, everyday life, and the ever-green game: yo-yo!

SLPM 37 053
Price: 110 Forints

Feró Nagy

Hamlet

Special adaptation and performance of a Shakespeare drama by Feró Nagy. The back cover gives the story-line in comic-strip format.

SLPM 37 028
Price: 110 Forints

Judith Szűcs

This new album is a collection of understated and beautiful lyrical songs.

SLPM 37 035
Price: 110 Forints

Márta Záray and János

Vámosi, single

'A Woman Made Me So Lazy' 'Pale Aster'

SPS 70 773
Price: 30 Forints

Névtelen Nulla

[Anonymous Zero], single

'Jeremy, Triumph'

SPS 70 716
Price: 30 Forints

Napoleon Boulevard

Winner of the Interpop Festival in Siófok.

'Hold My Hand!'

'Napoleon Bld.'

SPS 70 718
Price: 30 Forints

Hungaroton Hungarian
Musical Recordings
Company
Népszabadság
1 November 1986



~ 132. Dance Song Festival jury



~ 135. Metro—a popular Hungarian pop group



~ 133-134. Pop singers ~



'He Still Sees Me Home ...' Tops the Charts

(...)

The jury awarded the highest score (227) to a dance song entitled '[He] Still Sees Me Home', performed by Teréz Harangozó. (...)

'[He] Still Sees Me Home ...'

In the first semi-finals of the 1968 Dance Song Festival, the highest scoring number went like this:

He still sees me home, it's not far round
that way,
His voice still rings in my ear, just as it
used to, still the same,
I still look at him, he looks back at me,
We have time,
We know that
It will never be
The same again.
He still walks with me,
He still talks of a good future.
Oh, what a moment,
Oh, those lips!
The magic is still there,
It's still so wonderful
To be walking that midnight walk. (...)

Szabad Föld, 28 July 1968



136. Folk music ensemble [The Sebő Ensemble]

137. Underground band: Bizottság [the Committee]



138. Pop Festival—a hit musical



Have You Got Long Hair?

— Look over there! Is that a girl? Or a guy? I swear it's a guy: look, he's wearing trousers...

— I think it's a girl: look at her hairdo. But hang on a second, we can soon find out.—Hey, babe! Have you got a spare movie ticket?

— Is 'Babe' your grandmother?—responded the person, turning round angrily.

— Don't get upset! No one can tell whether you're a boy or a girl. Because of your hair.

— Everyone gets so hyped about my hair. I can't stand the usual hairstyles. I like to be unique. People take notice of me. As long as I had a 'normal' head of hair no one ever looked at me twice. (...)

We do want fashionable, trendy hair styles. But it just isn't right to let your hair grow for months and let nature take its course. Those who do this have a problem not only with their hair but with what's underneath it. (...)

'What's wrong with wearing our hair long? After all, we live in The Age of Rock, don't we?'

Piroska Szigeti
Pajtás, 17 April 1967

Opinions about Rock Music

(...) To make sure that our bands are not hijacked by the 'fashion-threat' which you describe in your article, we recommend that they try to be more daring with our folk music heritage and expand their repertoire to include pieces from the musical culture of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; they should also try to include more social consciousness songs in their shows. (...)

Captain Ernő Seres
A hazáért, 19 November 1969

Theaters Were Nationalized Twenty Years Ago

(...) Nationalization meant turning theaters into public property and establishing the people and the people's state as their ideological director and patron. That is all very well, but the last twenty years have taught us that fine words must never be mistaken for reality, which is full of hard and difficult courses, and sometimes, when things could go either way, takes the wrong direction. (...)

Over the next twenty years, we would like to see Hungarian theater life and Hungarian play-writing flourish. We would like to see the problems and joys, tragedies and conflicts of socialist life reflected on the stage more keenly and with a more daring artistic approach; we want to see the artists of the theater inspired by the spiritual essence of our people in all its multifaceted reality, including the many problems they face. (...)

Népszabadság, 1 August 1969



• 139. The actress
Hilda Gobbi

141. The most popular
Hungarian writer:
András Berkesi •

Tastes, Readers, Librarians

Findings of a survey

AVERSION TOWARDS A BOOK

Instead of joining in the general debate, we would like to say a few words about a recently published book by György Moldova, *The Dismissed Legion*, a novel which we find shocking. (...)

Reading the book from cover, to cover we became quite depressed. According to Moldova, Flórián Schmidt acted as a communist would. He claims that this is the case even when [this character] associates himself with the thoughts and fate of former members of the ÁVÓ. This made it impossible for us to sympathize with the writer's 'communist' hero.

László Benke, grinder
László Kovács, turner
Csepel, 27 June 1969



• 140. Tamás Major and Imre Sinkovits, the stars of a popular Hungarian film,
The Corporal and the Others.



142. The successful writer György Moldova and his pioneer squad •

Results and Lessons of the Architectural Design Competition for the National Theater

By: Dr Antal Reischl, Chairman of the Federation of Hungarian Architects

The judging of the architectural design entries for the National Theater competition was completed a couple of days ago and the results have already been made public. The international significance of the competition derives not only from the special nature of its purpose and the great number of applicants from abroad—not to mention the outstanding quality of some of the participants—but from the high standard of architectural detail and the daring and novel ideas. This new and exciting task—to create a magnificent home for prose, the ancient manifestation of theatrical culture, using contemporary forms and the possibilities offered by the most state-of-the-art technology—has inspired the architects from the socialist countries. (...)

The applicants took very different approaches to designing the external appearance of the theater. They were all intent on making sure that the Hungarian National Theater is housed in a building which, while unique in every respect, blends in with its surroundings, the beautiful buildings which are so characteristic of our capital city. (...)

Népszabadság, 6 February 1966

143. Zoltán Latinovits, 'The King of Actors' •



Questions of National Cultural Policy
Party Control and Culture

Party control over the substance and institutional system of science, the arts, education and public education—that is, culture in the narrow sense—has always been a sensitive issue of the class war, and this is still the case. The legitimacy of Party leadership has been challenged and rejected by all anti-socialist forces, from imperialist propaganda favoring liberalization to various forms of revisionism. (...)

... Party control is historically the highest form of control over culture, an achievement of scientifically grounded, planned social organization—socialism—and a natural consequence of the universal leadership of the Party, supported in practice by the workers' movement and the cultural achievements of socialism. (...)

Dezső Tóth

Népszabadság, 13 April 1969

• 144. Kálmán Latabár (Star of musical comedies)



• 145. Comedians and politicians: György Aczél, Géza Hofi, János Komlós, György Lázár

146. Cabaret stars: László Kazal and László Kabos •



**Call for a Greater Number of
 Socialist-Inspired Art Experiences**

I am a veteran communist. I have been a member of the Party since 1942, but I am not particularly old yet and even younger at heart. I don't think I hold particularly rigid 'leftist' views. (...)

What I miss, what I think is still lacking, is something else. For instance, I like classical music, but I like to listen to dance music programs too. What I am complaining about is that I usually have to wait a long time before I hear a Soviet song or a song from the workers' movement. (...)

I am not complaining about the large number of Western rock and jazz groups and chanson-singers, because it is good to keep a window wide open on the outside world, but it would be nice to see—through this very same window—more art which is genuinely inspired by socialism. (...) Art should do more to educate people in socialist culture and to raise public awareness and appreciation of both the older and the younger generation of warriors in the workers' movement and of the working class.

Mrs József Nagy

Editor of the Kossuth Publishing House

Népszabadság, 23 March 1972

PEOPLE







Today, every school-age child in Endrőd has his own drinking glass, towel, and lunch-box at home. Among pupils in the 7th and 8th grades, a new movement is beginning to gather pace: their ambition is that all 1,300 children in the school should have their own nightshirts, so they do not have to come to school in the same shirt in which they slept.

A Vöröskereszt Családi Lapja, December 1958

147. Pupil from an outlying hamlet

People we are proud of

'My Father is a Swine-herd'

My father works at the Kossuth Agricultural Co-operative. Every morning he goes to work in Töröksziget at four o'clock, and he takes every third Sunday off. It often happens, especially in winter, that he cannot go out on his bike, in which case he sets off on foot. When there is a delivery he does not even try to come home; he spends the night at work. In Töröksziget, feeding time is always at five o'clock in the morning and three o'clock in the afternoon. My father has been a member of the co-operative for fifteen years and a swine-herd for ten. He works hard and he earns good money. He does not drink or play cards, and he gives all his wages to his family. His co-workers like him very much, and he is appreciated by the management too. I love animals as much as he does. When I grow up, I will be a swine-herd too.

László Kovács, 5th grade pupil, Békés
Szabad Föld, 8 May 1966



~ 148–149. Apprentices [Text on wall: Which gives rights to millions] ~



~ 150–151. Children from a housing project ~

Why Árpád Was Expelled from the Day Care Centre

'Dear Parents! At the day care centre, your child, Árpád Élő, has committed acts which outraged the whole teaching staff. His behaviour earned him the scorn of his peers, not only at school, but at the day care centre. For instance, today he washed his hands in the drinking water dispenser: his excuse was that his hands were not "dirty". If we hadn't caught him doing it, he could easily have caused an infection throughout the day care centre.

Resolution: Because your child has constantly had a disruptive influence on his peers, despite repeated warnings, as of 30 November 1963 he has been removed from the day care centre as a disciplinary measure.'

This letter from Ercsi Primary School was delivered to the parents by the 'accused': 12-year-old Árpád Élő. (...)

Would it not have been better to discuss the matter with the parents and—rather than expel him—to work out suitable pedagogical measures to encourage the child in the right direction, both at home and at school? After all, school is an institution of teaching and education, isn't it?

(...)

For instance, a cultural task in the pioneer patrol could have been assigned to [the child]. I'm sure he would have been happy to become the jester ['mókamester'] and would have done very well, given his jesting nature. (...)

Béla Milassin
Szabad Föld, 16 February 1964





Readers' Opinions

152. Nightclub singer ◀

József Székely—skilled borer at the Central Plant of the Paper Industry Company in Budapest—wrote to us to voice his opinion about a fundamental social problem:

'A shortage of financial resources forces many talented young skilled workers into learning a trade, but there is nothing to be ashamed of in this. Many young people in white-collar jobs are happy to return to work on machines, because it is less stressful and they can earn more too. Those who learn a trade are not stupid, but persons who adapt easily and are practical-minded, who feel more at home in the world of machines than among figures and statistics. Does one become a blue-collar worker only under duress? No, not necessarily. I think it is only a question of one's point of view. It is only oppressive if you cannot find any enjoyment in it. If, on the other hand, you do realize in it the joy of productive work, then your life is no longer pointless . . . Only those who crave the return of petty bourgeois luxuries cannot accept that physical and intellectual work rank as equals among the activities of Man.'

Ifjú Kommunista, 7 February 1970



◀ 154. Suicide

Guidance for Parents on Bringing up Children

'Jampec' Behavior and What Is behind It

'Jampec' boys are cool, so cool
I swear I'll be one when I'm old enough.
He hangs around in tight drainpipe-trousers,
And when the jazz band starts to play
His whole body starts to sway.

He hangs out under the street light
Where everyone gathers every night
To have a good time.
Style is the main thing;
It daringly reveals the
Buff figure of the 'jampec'.

I found this poem in the note-book of a high-school boy. (...)

In my opinion there are two kinds of 'jampec': the 'jampec' by world-view and the 'jampec' by fashion. The [corrective] education of a 'jampec' by fashion, someone who only wants to stand out from the crowd, is a relatively easy task. For such people, dressing and talking 'jampec'-style is little more than an affectation 'put on' by young people who are otherwise fundamentally stable. We should not jump to conclusions about them just because they use a couple of 'jampec' expressions and wear bright 'jampec' ties. To educate them, all that is needed is a lot of patience and tact. On the other hand, the individuals I call 'jampec by world-view' are often in rebellion against the 'establishment', more often than not completely ignoring and even rejecting the forms and aims of social interaction. They derive satisfaction from making an exhibition of themselves, of their inner world, in a loud fashion and expressing their rejection of their surroundings, which they deem to be too conservative. There is no hatred in their behavior, only disillusionment and supercilious condescension. In such a state of mind they often turn to drinking, partying, living irresponsibly, and unemployment: and they celebrate this kind of behavior as something new, modern, contemporary. And this is where the danger lies. Their rebellion and protest are directed against everything, including positive values. Such young people shut themselves off from normal society and may even become anti-social. They turn into cynics who at best feel comfortable with like-minded people. Such youths can easily be encouraged to stray from the right path by irresponsible elements, and be exploited in the service of irresponsible objectives, because they can readily be persuaded to follow their own desires. (...)

Sándor Bíró, Headmaster at Bolyai János Comprehensive High School
Népszabadság, 2 September 1959



153. Glue-sniffers ▶

Sad Statistics

Among a number of interesting demographical details, the *Demographical Yearbook* also contains some sad statistics. The saddest of these are the suicide statistics. In 1965, unfortunately, 3,029 people committed suicide, of whom 2,090 were men and 939 women. Another thought-provoking fact is that men usually commit suicide between the ages of 15 and 39, while women generally do so over the age of 60. (...)

Szabad Föld, 22 January 1967



János Kádár's Speech at the VIIth Congress of the MSZMP

Report of the Central Committee:

(...)

Today, living conditions are good [in our country]. Work is meaningful for everyone, because everyone knows that we spend the value generated by work partly on developing production—in other words, on ensuring higher living standards for the future—and partly directly on consumption, on making [life] better today and on regularly improving workers' living standards.

In effect, there is only one question which can have a major impact on living conditions today, and which will require a lot of time and effort if it is to be addressed properly: the new housing required to meet constantly growing needs. Although it is a very difficult task, it is one which can be, must be, and will be resolved.

Népszabadság, 1 December 1959



• 155. Fostered by the state

Drugs

News report:

According to a report by the WHO, the number of crimes committed under the influence of drugs continues to increase in the USA and in Western Europe. Hungary is among the drug-free countries.

Three news reports:

1. Tibor Ernő Rendes, a locksmith at BKV, drank four deciliters of 'pálinka' [brandy] and two deciliters of wine, then got behind the steering wheel of an empty No. 39 bus and ran amok on the streets of Budapest.

2. László Iváncsó and János Iváncsó, residents of Hajdúböszörmény, in a state of drunkenness battered to death their father, semi-skilled worker János Iváncsó, with an ax and a hatchet.

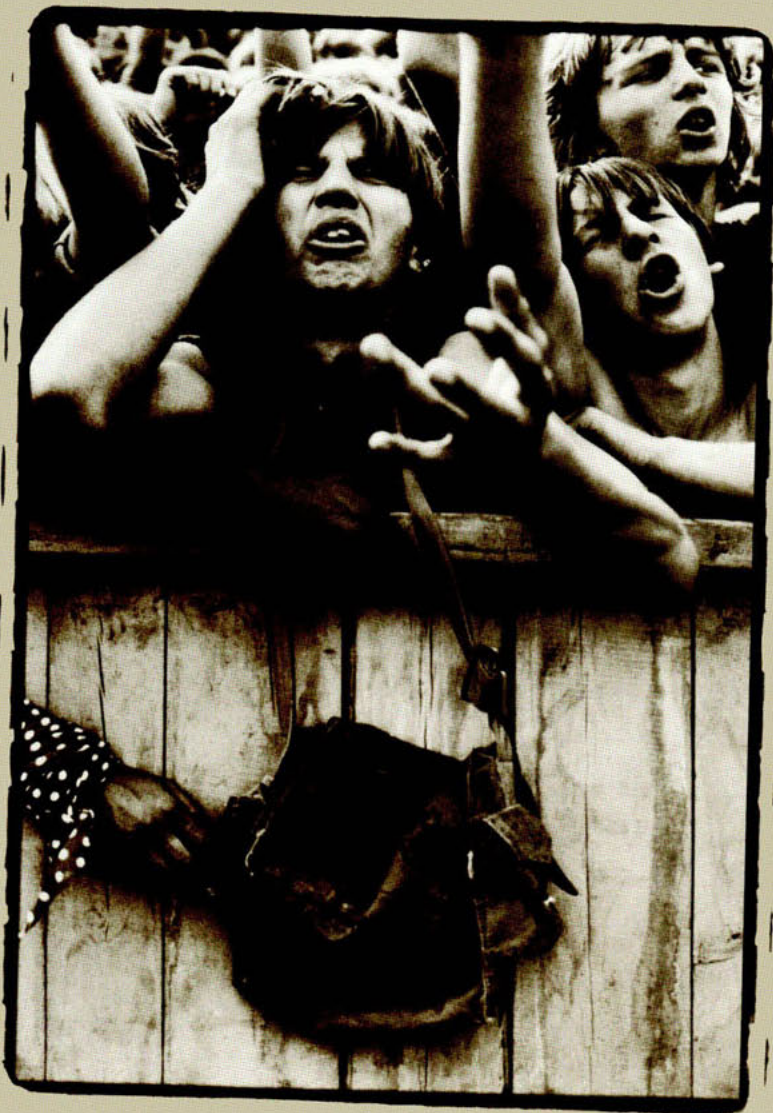
3. New consumption record: in Hungary the annual consumption of alcohol is ten liters per capita.

And an opinion: Alcohol is a drug, too. Hungary is not a drug-free country.

— óv —

• 156. Rock ecstasy

Élet és Irodalom, 20. July 1974.



Answering questions of the day

Is There a Hippie Threat?

(...) 'hippyism' is more than mere outward appearance.

Experience shows that hippies are mostly badly groomed young people, but even more significant is that they are against all social mores and they don't like to work—what is more, they have an outright hatred for work. They create an anti-social atmosphere around themselves as they spread their views and persuade others to adopt their life-style, and exhibit a lack of scruple towards their surroundings and the other sex. In this sense, therefore, it is impossible to conclude with certainty that only external factors are important. (...)

Gy.S.

Magyar Rendőr, May 1971

• 157. In an underpass



• 158. Speaker at a Party congress

159. At the espresso machine •

Little Red Book Carried next to the Heart

You will soon be able to carry a new, red booklet next to your heart, which beats for the Communist Party. Together with other members of your Party unit you will receive the certificate of your now confirmed MSZMP membership at an intimate and cordial ceremonial meeting of the General Assembly.

The magic of the moment—which will overwhelm you when you receive the little red book—should also inspire you to make a reckoning. [It] will rivet the question to your heart and mind: Have you resolved with the deepest faith to sacrifice your life as a fighter for the cause of the Party? Do you have enough strength in you to give for the Party—if necessary—even your blood, but [in any case] all the energy of your young life and your noblest aspirations, completely and unconditionally? Does your heartbeat make it clear that your goal and honor, and the meaning of your life are one with the Party, and that without it you would never find your place in this terrestrial abode?

You are a member of the Party which is armed with the triumphant ideology of Marxism-Leninism. You belong to the fighting-spirited, revolutionary party of the working class and the constantly radiating, shaping, and educating force of the Party will enable you to become a role model for your comrades. (...)

And, however dear it may be to you, never hide this tiny booklet away too carefully. Take it out every now and then, leaf through it, and think carefully about the message your Party membership card has for you.

Néphadsereg, 15 December 1957







~ 161 Sunbathing

162. Window-shopping ~

~ 163. Fishmonger



Classified Ad

Looking to marry a young woman from the Felvidék [Upper Northern Hungary in the pre-Trianon (pre-1920) period]. I am from the Felvidék myself. 29 years of age. Replies please to 'Home-sick 42 207' Advertising Agency at Budapest, V Felszabadulás tér 7

Népszabadság, 18 March 1958

On the Morals of Young People

In the course of one of my inspections, I discovered a number of pornographic pictures and writings in the possession of some of my staff. This prompted me to jot down my thoughts and opinions on the subject.

These writings and pictures, like all pornography, are an outrage against morality. This filth is the enemy of socialist morality, both in principle and in practice. In capitalist society, this [kind of] 'art' served the interests of the bourgeoisie. The rotten morality of the capitalists spread pornography artificially and on a mass scale: this was yet another ploy to put the class war into abeyance and to divert the attention of the working classes. ()

Why is it that manifestations of pornography are sometimes encountered even today?

During and after the counter-revolution one would often come across writings and photos which showed how the enemy would try to exert a harmful influence on the moral and political values of the armed forces. (.)

József Muzsi, First Lieutenant
Határőr, 4 February 1958



~ 164. Gypsy family

165. Unskilled worker ~

166. Returned emigrant ~

Classified Ad

Spring is on its way!
Make a lot of money
while taking a walk
by simply collecting
edible snails. For infor-
mation, call MAVAD,
Budapest,
V., Honvéd u. 16.

*Népszabadság,
18 March 1958*





167. A party of freshmen

168. Gypsy settlement resident



TERVTELJESÍTÉS

TERV **TÉNY** **%** **ELT.** **MŰSZAK** **TELJESÍTMÉNY**

NAPI **HAVI** **NAPI** **HAVI** **NAPI** **HAVI** **NAPI** **HAVI** **NAPI** **HAVI**

KOMMUNISTA HÉT MUNKAVERSENY

3,0	12,0	2,5	13,0	108,1+1,0	13	54	20,00	—	24,00
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4,4	8,0	4,5	10,5	122,1+1,3	32	50	13,60	—	—
2,8	8,4	3,0	9,0	107,1+0,8	13	53	11,30	—	—
2,4	6,0	1,5	4,5	125,0+1,5	12	51	8,20	—	—

~ 169. Sweet-tooth ~ 170. Miner [Text on board: Communist Week work competition]



171. Owners of a private confectioners [Text on board: Erzsike's Pastry Shop]





172. At a picnic

173. Beer drinker

174. Bill-poster



Commuters

(...)

When one considers that for years now thousands and thousands of people get on the train and the bus every day, week after week, and are willing to add these extra hours to their working day, one begins to feel less estranged [from them]. Commuting is a life-style. When one spends a lot of time traveling, one develops special habits and forms of behavior, and those who are not closely acquainted with the lives of commuters can easily make negative generalizations.

Commuting is an objective necessity determined by the past and present state of the economy, however. Our industrial base, which is concentrated in only a few places, came into being before the liberation. The extensive industrial development which followed further increased the number of those working away from their place of residence. (...)

- In principle it is not unimaginable [or impossible], but under existing circumstances and objective conditions only about 20 per cent of commuters can put their traveling time to meaningful use. Most of them simply do not know how. Shocking things can happen under the influence of alcohol, particularly on Friday train services carrying workers. Despite the fact that alcohol is banned from railway stations, people tank up and stock their bags nearby ... and naturally one cannot inspect everyone's bags. And what about the drunks? Should they be forbidden to board the train? Should they be prevented from going home to their families?

These are difficult questions. Perhaps a greater police presence and surveillance could improve traveling standards on weekend trains. (...)

One of the most important things would be to improve transport standards, including the level of sophistication of traveling, speed of traveling, and the harmonization of the timetable with the beginning and end of shifts to make sure that commuters waste less time. Volán and MÁV are making an effort to achieve this, and they even try to consult us about arrangements with regard to individual services. I believe that large-scale improvement of the bus service network is a task of fundamental importance. For some plants—for instance ELZETT in Berettyóújfalú—the bus service is a foundation pillar of production.

Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 20 January 1974



'Hungarian Photographic Art', 1958

(...) Marian Reismann's gloomy, moody picture of women at an agricultural co-operative has a way of hitting you in the chest. These conventional peasant women, perhaps under clerical influence, all seem to be dressed in mourning. Is this photograph representative? Is the funereal tone of the depiction justifiable? Absolutely! Building socialism also has its difficult moments and it is precisely human beings who find it most difficult to adapt to change. (But the photograph also emanates a cold lack of affection, which makes it difficult for the viewer to appreciate it.)

István Lelkes
Élet és Irodalom, 13 June 1958



• 175. Sándor Weöres and Amy Károlyi

175-179. Poets and writers





176. György Petri -



- 177. János Pilinszky



- 178. Ferenc Karinthy and Peter Veres



179. András Sütő, István Orkény and Ferenc Juhász -





~ 180. Residents of a women's hostel

181. MP ~







183. Pipe fitters

Father Frost or Santa Claus?

December is drawing near. Our family has its fair share of festivities this month: nameday, birthday, Christmas, and of course 6 December. [Santa Claus day in Hungary] But at this point, the festive joys begin to turn sour. Just like at Christmas time. Because there is a growing uncertainty among children and even adults about who the presents really come from. Who gives what? Who gives [a particular present] to whom? Father Frost? Baby Jesus? Santa Claus?

When I was a child I got my Christmas tree from Baby Jesus. My class-mate, the village party secretary's daughter, got her fir tree from Father Frost for the so-called Pine Festival. I got my Santa Claus box, which came complete with the traditional birch-twig, on 6 December, or more precisely on the evening of 5 December. My class-mate, got hers from Father Frost. Father Frost visited her twice. It's a good thing that at least the 'krampuszok' [bogeymen] visited both of us, despite the differences in outlook of the two sets of parents. They must have held the same viewpoint, at least as far as the bogeymen from Hell were concerned. Ever since then the situation has remained confusing.

Some people celebrate Christmas; others the Pine Festival. Some still get their Christmas tree from Baby Jesus; others get it from Father Frost. Everyone can summon either Father Frost or Baby Jesus to visit their innocent, unsuspecting children. There is a problem, however, with Santa Claus. In recent decades, the number of families who also get presents from Father Frost on 6 December (the night of 5 December) has been on the increase. And [Father Frost visits every] kindergarten and school. Santa Claus has been avoiding Hungary. And yet on Saint Nicholas day [6 December] Father Frost is still far away. Because he [Father Frost] arrives at the same time as Baby Jesus. Or rather, he arrives instead of Baby Jesus. Because on 6 [December] the graybeard dressed in his miter and carrying a bishop's crook places gifts in the specially cleaned little shiny boots in memory of Santa Claus or Saint Nicholas.

Bishop Nicholas of Patara (who died in about 345) habitually gave gifts to needy children. This charming custom of the Santa Claus visits is kept alive all over the world even today in his memory. Let him—and his worthy name—live for Hungarian children too!

János Szikra

Köznevelés, 10 October 1988



184. Private hair-dressers

185. At the coffee-house





186. Film director: Miklós Jancsó

187. Samizdat authors



Tastes, Readers, Librarians Findings of a survey

Small Library with an Open Shelf

I have to admit, I am only a kind of self-made librarian. A kind of Nemessek of literature, a private soldier—among many college-trained professional librarians.

Of the 600 staff of the workshop where I work (the tool manufacturing workshop), 260 readers come to my branch-library, which is small but which has had an open shelf for 10 years. I get the reading material from the central library on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. So most readers, taking advantage of the pleasures of browsing, tend to choose their reading for themselves, often against my better judgment. (...)

I have to say, they read Berkesi's *Nereid on the Seal-ring* until it fell to pieces, so I had to throw it away, and no one has asked for it since. The *Rejtő* [novels] are out all the time, and so is the Munkácsy biography by Dallos, which is passed from hand to hand. It is impossible for me to have any control over this.

Kraus Kulke's *Death Factory* was read by 79 [people]; Széchenyi's *Csui* by 70; Chukhrai's *Baltic Sky* by 67; Gárdonyi's *Stars of Eger* by 59; [Aleksai] Tolstoy's *Peter the Great* by 58; Stenka Razin [by the same author] by 55; Verne's *Mátyás Sándor* by 75; Thorwald's *The Age of Surgery* by 37; Stevenson's *Treasure Island* by 70; S. Zweig's *Magellan* by 72; Steinbeck's *Cup of Gold* by 67; V. Hugo's *Les Misérables* by 46; Berkesi's *Loneliness* by 39; and T. Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* by 60.

Csepel, 27 June 1969

188. Master and politician





~ 189. At home on Sunday

190. In social care ~



~ 191. Bathing man



Bouquet for Women's Day

(...) Question: What would you like to get instead of or in addition to a bouquet of flowers in March?

Answers from several working women: Let 8 March be a paid holiday for women. Let the men do the work for us on that day!

Socialist brigade leader from a plastics factory: There should be a discount on dry-cleaning and household appliance rental charges.

Uncertified teacher: I am taking a course which gives me a lot of work to do on top of my daily duties. I would appreciate more help from my husband with the housework.

Designer: Since November have been looking for a pair of long-johns for my husband. I could not find any until three weeks ago, and even then only because someone with influence was able to help me out. It would be nice if such basic items were always available (...) and one could buy milk and bread in the afternoon, too.

Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 17 March 1970

When Will Social Insurance be Introduced Across-the-Board?

János Pirisi, Chief Agronomist of the Petőfi Agricultural Co-operative in Örgesertő, said the following about the labor supply:

– It is scarce. It is especially hard to find men to work on machines in the fields. Young people are not interested in becoming co-operative members.

We have come across some statistics on the age distribution of the membership of the agricultural co-operative. The figures are horrendous. In a farming operation covering more than five thousand 'hold' there are no more than six co-operative members under the age of 22. The proportion of people below and above pensionable age is no less disconcerting. Of the former there are 158, of the latter there are 185. In other words, the co-operative membership, like they say, has grown old. What is the reason for this? (...)

Sándor Teszkó

Szabad Föld, 6 June 1971

Classified Ad

Shepherd sought to look after 220 ewes. Start right away. Large immediate family an advantage. Accommodation provided. Interview to be conducted at Kossuth Mgtsz., [Agricultural Co-operative] Tarhos, Békés County.

Szabad Föld, 17 August 1969



~ 192. Instant-win lottery ticket vendor

~ 193. Workman getting dressed



Advertisement

Budapest Casino Ltd. is launching a croupier's course for men not over 35 years of age. The candidate should be able to prove an adequate level of general knowledge (at least high school graduation certificate), be of pleasing appearance, have a knowledge of German and at least one other foreign language, and an impeccable record. The course will last for 4–5 months. During training, employees will be paid 5,200 forints per month. Those who do not qualify for the job of croupier will have the option of being transferred to another position (e.g. reception). Applications supported by a detailed CV should be addressed to Mrs Tibor Kun, Head of Personnel.

Address: Budapest Játékkaszinó Kft, 1014 Budapest, I., Hess András tér 1-3.

Heti Világgazdaság, 11 August 1984



194. Beneath the cross ~

Are There Poor People in Hungary?

I put the question to a socialist brigade from the Egyesült Izzó [United Lighting Co.]: Are there any poor people today?

– There are people who are well-off and others who are less well-off, but since the time of the liberation there have been no poor people.

– In my opinion a poor person is someone who has no home of his own. Regardless of whether he makes ten thousand a month.

– Those who are willing to work can make a living. Shirkers, wastrels, and drunkards can only blame themselves if they can't make ends meet. (...)

– People on a small pension, people with a lot of children, and Gypsies are [poor people].

– It is not a question of income! Someone who scrimps and saves will always have enough money, whereas someone with too many ups and downs will never have enough, even if they have the treasures of Darius to spend. (...)

There are a large number of people in Hungary whose financial status, housing situation, life-style, standard of clothing, level of education, and prospects are below average. (...)

They include elderly people without even a pension and whose only regular income is from welfare, people on a small pension, and families in which a single breadwinner supports many dependents.

Katalin Sulyok

Nők Lapja, 28 February 1981



~ 195. Young pianists

196. Members of the underground on an outing ~





~ 197–198 Artists



199. Avant-garde artist and film director (Miklós Erdély and Gábor Bódy) ~





200. Caretaker

The Life-style of Angyalföld Workers

The following is a selection of the findings of a survey conducted by the 13th District Party committee.

(...) According to the findings of a survey conducted by the party committee, 25–30% of worker families in Angyalföld live under difficult conditions.

The overall picture is that there has been a discernible improvement in living standards only in families with more than one active earner or with fewer dependents. Typically, such families spend their income primarily on durable goods: today, 70 per cent of worker families have a TV set (compared to only 50 per cent in 1965), 67 per cent have a washing machine (compared to 30 per cent in 1965), and 40 per cent have a refrigerator (compared to 20 per cent in 1965). It is also interesting to note that 12 per cent of Angyalföld workers own an allotment, 3.6 per cent own a car, and 5.6 per cent own a motorcycle. (...)

Népszabadság, 4 June 1969

PRIVATE RITUALS







If You've Got Money, You've Got Everything

(...) We would like to live the good life too, but we haven't got the money. And if you haven't got money, you should stay at home! And if you haven't got money, the most you can do when you see a beautiful woman pass by is to take a deep breath and quickly look away and think no more about it. (...)

And if it is money that opens the doors to a magic world, then we want money! We are young: we have the right to live, to work, to enjoy—and [the right to have] women. We don't want to bow our heads under the spirit-crushing yoke of marriage when we graduate. We all want to be good engineers, but not purely for the love of it.

(...)

Hatfaludi, 3rd year engineering student
A Jövő Mémöke, 17 March 1958

Contra Hatfaludi!

Let me respond to just two sentences in the above article.

First sentence: 'But it is a fact that money buys houses, cars, foreign travel—and women.'

After analyzing this sentence let me draw the attention of the author of the article to the following:

1. We don't live in the Middle Ages when women could be bought like some kind of prize cow.
2. A woman selling herself for money doesn't deserve to be called a woman.
3. Socialist morality condemns the man who tries to buy love (...)

I regard your article as an insult to and denigration of women, and you shouldn't try to turn every woman into a lover even when you are young.

Sergeant-Major Gyulai, ME fireman*

I have a point to make in response to Colleague H's article.

I. According to him, money is everything—car, foreign travel, women! Is he trying to use this list to show off his knowledge of the political economy of capitalism? (...)

Dénes Nagy, engineer, 3rd year student
A Jövő Mémöke, 24 March 1958

* Sergeant-Major at the Technical University

201. 'Checking out the local talent.'





• 202. Embrace

203–206. Weddings

Public Celebration of Private Events

For a lot of people, religious rituals have now become meaningless; they have faded into mere systems of symbols, without reality of their own (...)

Only the involvement of civil and mass organizations can ensure that such rituals furnish participants not only with a festive atmosphere, but with an intimate collective experience. It is in this way that commemorations of the most important turning-points in human life can also become a platform for educational work to strengthen the modern outlook on life.

Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 27 July 1972

Married and Single Women!

It never occurs to a lot of women that wearing appropriately chosen, attractive underwear is also good for their health. For instance, many [women] still use elastic garters to hold up their stockings, and some go as far as maiming themselves by using a piece of string. Why not pamper ourselves and make our own garters that are better suited for the purpose?

A Vöröskereszt Családi Lapja, December 1958



204. ~



~ 205.

206. ~







207-208. Name-giving ceremony [secular christening] ~

The ÁB-Baby is a Boy Both in Budapest and in the Provinces

The nominal value of life insurance is now higher

This year, for the 25th time, an ÁB-Baby of the Year was chosen from those born on New Year's Day. Between 0.00 and 1.00 a.m. on the first day of the New Year, the arrival of seventeen newborns was reported to the State Insurance Co: thirteen babies in the provinces and four in Budapest. Nine of the newborn babies were boys and eight were girls. In 1986, the ÁB-Baby in Budapest is Szabolcs Dreifinger, delivered at Gynecological Clinic No.1.—the parents are residents of Várpalota. In the provinces, the lucky winner is Krisztián Rusznyák, who was delivered at the Miskolc County Hospital. Állami Biztosító [State Insurance Co.] presented the ÁB-Babies with a life insurance policy with a nominal value of 50,000 forints—an increase of 10,000 forints—to commemorate [the insurance company's] 25th anniversary. In 2004, at the age of 18, the winners will receive the sum of 101,290 forints, including interest. (MTI)

Népszabadság, 2 January 1986



A Private Affair Which Is Also an Important Public Concern

(...) If one considers the contrast between the obvious leniency of the Abortion Act and the broad range of arguments [for and against], one must agree with those who are urging reform of the law. One can't help feeling that the law helps rather than curbs frequently encountered irresponsible behavior towards young lives and the health of the women concerned. There is much talk these days about thoughtless marriages and rising divorce rates among young people. Regrettably, one must conclude that the law fails to be of educational value in this respect too. It doesn't make young men think even for a second that they should look at their wife not only as a momentarily attractive woman but also as a mother-to-be. (...)

My child was born in 1960 and has been repeatedly taken ill since it was four months old. When a child is still less than one year old, the mother can claim sick benefit if it becomes ill. Unfortunately, I had to do that quite often.

In the end my boss, who was fed up with all the time I was spending away from work, telephoned the pediatric centre and inquired whether my child was really ill, despite the fact that I had always backed up my time-off with a medical certificate. In the end I was forced to leave my job and look for a new one to avoid the constant complaints and innuendos. After all this, not surprisingly, if I ever became pregnant again I wouldn't hesitate to contact the [abortion] committee: I wouldn't want to go through this kind of torture all over again. (...)

Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 20 June 1963



~ 209. Christening

210. At the Amusement Park ~



211. Pitch and toss

Should Saturdays Be Holidays?

(...)

'I am concerned about the children', continued Mária Kormosi, Deputy Headmistress of a school in Budapest, 'because in the course of a ten-day cycle, their afternoons will be even more weighed down by various extracurricular activities, and they will have even less time than before to prepare for their lessons the next day. Therefore, it would not be a good idea to reduce the six working days of the week, [to provide time for] pointless Saturday loafing. I am not seeking to exercise more control over kids' leisure time; what I am suggesting is that on this day [Saturday] exercise rooms and sports halls should open their doors. Which would, of course, require the presence of teaching staff.

'Constant work and an even workload is very beneficial to elementary school pupils because of the characteristics of their age group. Even the eleven-day cycle is somewhat disturbing from this viewpoint. On Fridays preceding a Saturday off, the school regime is somewhat relaxed, so no homework is assigned to pupils. From midday on Friday to Monday morning—and even until midday—too much time is wasted, and so Monday is not a full working day either. (...)

'Mom cooks the dinner, Dad washes the car, and the kids all watch TV. It is cause for concern that this process of alienation will not be halted by more Saturdays off. (...)

Éva Szedlák
Köznevelés, 3 April 1981

There are some 8,000 registered television subscribers in Hungary today. There are 6,280 TV sets in Budapest.

Népszabadság, 28 May 1958



212. Watching TV together



213. Family outing

214. Family dinner

A Family in 1971

(...)

— We've got what we need. We don't have to eat vegetables only ... what we've got is clean and tidy, if you're smart, you can manage well enough. It's worth keeping track of things like 'Centrum Mondays'. On a Sunday, we take a walk to town, and if there is anything we like, we save up. You'll see—we'll have our own car soon. But first we have to set our children up. I would be the happiest person in the world if they went on to study. The future is for educated people... (...)

Tibor Lengyel

A hazáért, 21 April 1971





~ 215. Wedding preparations

216. Making sausages ~



217. Housing project cook-out



Neurosis: A Symptom of Our Age

(...)

Rapid economic, social, and cultural changes call for an enhanced ability to adapt. Man, however, has not yet learnt to adjust his life-style to keep up with the pace of modern life.

Our ability to prevent the further spread of nervous disorders and neurosis depends on how the younger generation are brought up.

We need to bring up a generation whose physical and mental stamina meets the requirements of the modern age. They should start to learn from a very early age to take the measure of their abilities and to objectively assess their strengths and weaknesses. Let us teach them a more direct, straightforward, and courageous behavior. If they become more self-assured in choosing a career, if they can find enjoyment in their work and spend their leisure time wisely and reasonably, we will no longer need to worry about them.

However, in order to achieve this, a good example will have to be set before them: adults who enjoy working, relax in a cultured manner, and who love nature, fresh air, and sports.

Dr. Miklós Péteri
Családi Lap, December 1976



~ 218. At the Mátyás Pince [Matthias Cellar]

219. New Year celebration at the Nagykörút ~





220. Waiting for a book—signing

221. Outside the cinema. (Text on board: 'Czapek Elving' Soviet film)

'Metropolis' Shown at the Filmmúzeum

Tonight, the Filmmúzeum will premiere Fritz Lang's 'Metropolis', a classic silent film made thirty years ago.

Among the actors in the film are such old stars as Gustav Fröhlich, Brigitte Helm, Alfred Abel, and Heinrich George.

Népszabadság, 20
March 1958



Classified Ad

Intelligent woman, 30, seeking the acquaintance of handsome and progressively minded man, 30-40, and fond of living on a farm, strictly for the purpose of marriage.—No passing affair—Will only answer letters containing photo.—Replies to 'Spouse 85 754' at Hungarian Advertising, Kiskőrös.

Szabad Föld, 25 April 1965



222-223. Nightclub



Seemingly a Private Affair

(...)

— When a young female engineer came to the department, it never crossed my mind whether or not it was proper and moral to seek her understanding, friendship, and affection. I needn't continue. In the end, I ended up by being unfaithful to my wife.
— Naturally, I owed her something for this relationship: within the space of a year this female engineer became my deputy. (...)

István Balogh

This is where the story ends.

We think, however, that one must ask the question:

In view of such grave errors, should not the Party leadership have given a comradely warning to this engineer earlier on, that there cannot be two kinds of morality: a socialist one at the factory and a bourgeois one in private life?

Could not disciplinary proceedings have been avoided?

The answers—we believe—are implicit in the questions.

(The Editor)

Pártélet, June 1962



224-228. Dances



Gossip Is Harmful for Society

Under the auspices of the 6th District Committee of the National Front, Dr Tibor Lukács—Council Head at the Central District Court—gave a lecture on the destructive role of gossip. In his introduction he defined gossip as follows: a real or fabricated piece of news spread in an irresponsible or inappropriate manner for the amusement, or serving the interests, of the individual spreading it, but clearly to the disadvantage of the person concerned. Gossip can be unpleasant and upsetting, and it can even pose a threat to society. It is closely related to defamation and slander. (...)

A case in which someone reported a neighbor, another woman, for having called her 'your ladyship' signals that ideas are changing. The word itself is not offensive, but the court must investigate whether it was used with the intention to offend. In another incident, a company departmental head was alleged to be having an affair with a colleague. When it became known that they were going together on a business trip to the countryside, their driver was paid to watch them. The driver told the head of department what was going on and so the bomb of mud-slinging exploded: it all ended in a series of denunciations, firings, and voluntary resignations. And the wife of the head of department and the husband of the colleague in question sat side by side on the court benches. (...)

E.H.

Esti Hírlap, 30 December 1960





227.

228.

229. Open-air rock-concert

Advertisement

Do you want to party, but you don't have a record player or a tape recorder?

This shouldn't stop you from having fun, dancing and listening to music, because tape recorders and record players are available for hire from the Commercial Hire Company. Look up the address in the local telephone book.

Ifjúsági Magazin, May 1969

Where Can Young People Go on Saturday Night?

In the dance hall, music is playing, and young people are dancing and having fun. However, many of them seem to prefer the snack bar and sitting by a pitcher of beer to dancing. The entrance area to the hall is filled with smoke, and cigarette butts are everywhere.

In recent months the situation at the Culture House has improved somewhat: there has been less unruliness and bad behavior. It is, however, still too soon to claim that the dance is conducted in a cultured manner. Many young people are still behaving arrogantly and boisterously.

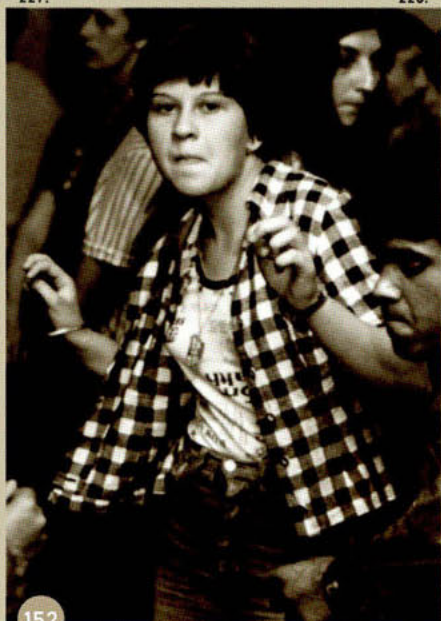
Strangely, even Youth Guards participating in the dance do little to make sure that young people behave themselves decently and politely.

Probably if the buffet stopped selling alcohol and the organizers and the Youth Guards did a better job, these minor incidents of unruliness would also come to an end. (...)

Experience tells us that when a culture house organizes the dance in an interesting and colorful fashion, and maintains an appropriate amount of order, then young people have a good time and spend the weekend in an enjoyable manner.

Levente Kaposi

Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 20 November 1963







230. Party

231. After a concert





232-241. Men at leisure



~ 233.

234. ~





• 235., 236. [The poster on the wall advertises the soccer pools competition]

Mass Brawl in Pestszentlőrinc

Foreign guest workers working at local factories held harvest celebrations at the Kistex [textile company] Culture House at 2 Fáy street in Budapest's 18th District. At 2.30 a.m. on Sunday a mass brawl broke out among a crowd of 400–500. By 4 a.m. order was restored by the police, who arrived at the scene in large numbers. Two policemen suffered serious injuries, and six other policemen and five foreign guest workers were slightly injured. The police have launched an investigation into the causes of the fighting and to find those responsible for starting the fight. (MTI)

Népszabadság, 30 September 1986



• 237.

• 238., 239. •



Procurer of Girls Rather Than of Raw Materials

240. •

Tenant Earns Foreign Currency from Bed-sit Sub-letting

Brothel-founder Fischer faces court proceedings

(From our correspondent)

Nine women with a dubious reputation in Budapest nightlife and an elderly man who used his flat to turn the immoral actions of his 'protégés' into profits for himself and a collective crime had to stand up in court yesterday as the accused. (...)

They cast the characteristic nets of commercial lechery [prostitution] across busy cafés and in some of our new hotels. Some of them rented a room in Hotel Aero, while others were booked into IBUSZ apartments by their wealthy patron. However, for most of the year they could secure a roof over their heads only by accepting random partners, turning László Fischer, a 61-year-old procurer of supplies with a long criminal record but fortified by the advantages of a bed-sit, into an irresistible charmer. (...)

Népszabadság, 3 November 1971







~ 241

242-244. Go Fradi! ~



Emancipation of Women as Reflected in the Newspapers

Since 1948 the law has guaranteed equal rights for women in our country. But the spirit of the law does not penetrate every factory and office—just as it does not penetrate all minds. This is something which can be and must be addressed and corrected. One often reads articles about conspicuous examples. These prove that the situation still leaves a lot to be desired. But it is not enough to highlight extreme cases. Conservative attitudes and prejudices are vigorous antagonists. Is there anyone who has not met with the veiled or even overt view that women are not suited to certain jobs? They do not get the jobs that they are qualified for and able to perform because . . . actually often no explanation is offered, and no reference is made to the interests of the national economy. (...)

Compared to a decade and a half ago, when Hungarian women were supposed to be seen but not heard, we have come a long way, but 20 years after the liberation, when so many women work and a woman is not only a wife to a man but a companion in work and struggle, [it is easy to see that] there is still a long way to go. I am calling for consistency: let us write more often about the extent to which capable women are appreciated in towns and villages, in economic and social life.

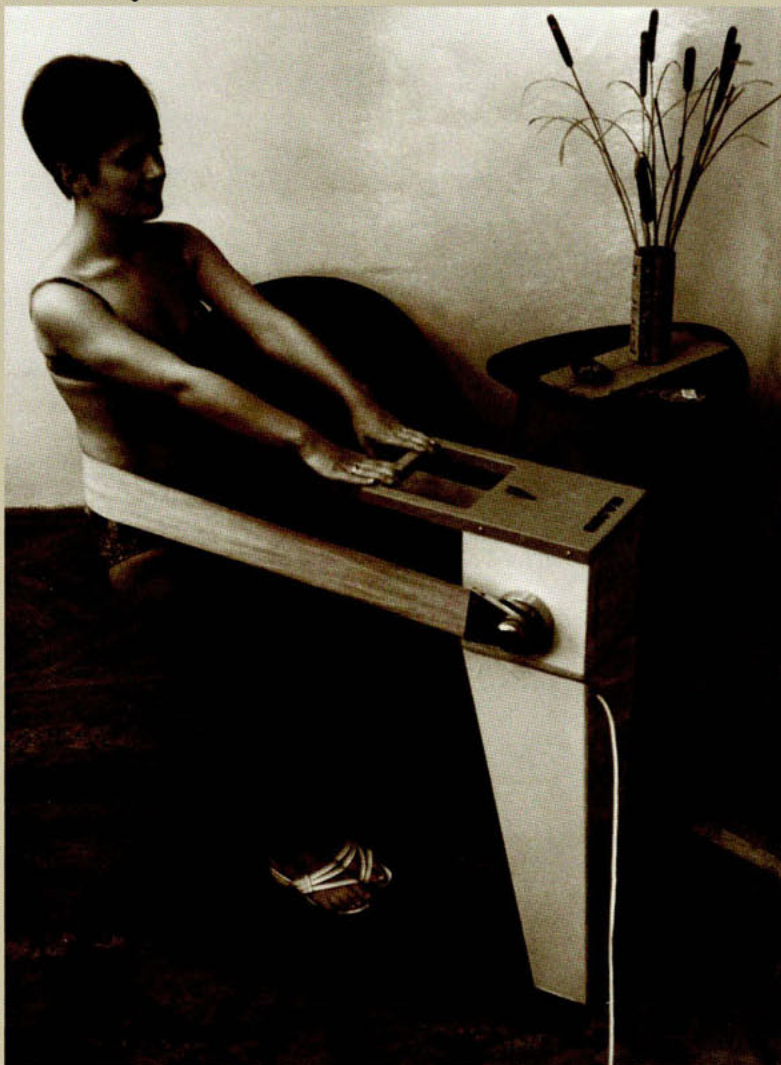
Vera Lendvai

Magyar Szó, May-June 1965





245–247. Working hard to make oneself beautiful



Housework in the Scales?

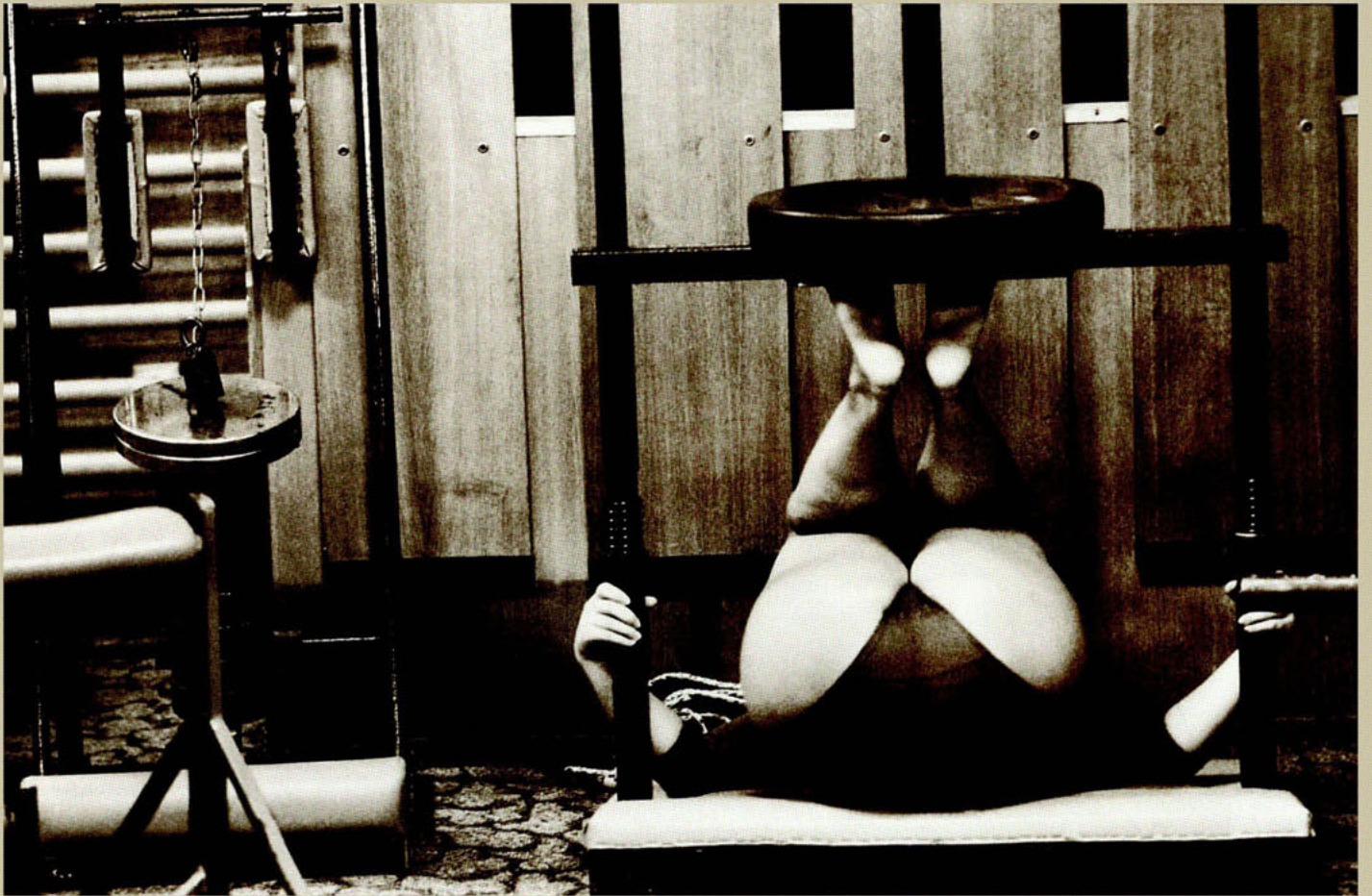
Confessions of two thousand women about housework

(...) The cooking habits of contemporary families are shaped primarily by the size of the family, and by whether the housewife does blue-collar or white-collar work or is a full-time housewife; 63 per cent of respondent housewives cook daily (77 per cent of the blue-collar women and only 55 per cent of the white-collar women.) (...)

83 per cent of single and unmarried women respondents spend no more than two to three hours a week doing the washing, while families with four members usually spend four hours a week, and 25 per cent of families with five members or more spend over one hour a day on washing underwear and other items. (...)

Imre Kapályag

Népszabadság, 28 November 1971



247.

SCENES



10.



More Than a Thousand New Apartments to be Completed in Budapest in December

This year's housing construction project in the [Hungarian] capital is now drawing to its conclusion. Up to now, more than two thousand apartments have been completed under the aegis of the council project, and by the end of December another eight hundred new apartments will be delivered at the Lágymányos housing project, the Hévízi Street housing project, the Üllői Street József Attila project, and at Nagy Lajos Király Street. At Hévízi Street housing construction work will be completed this year, as will the proposed housing project at Nagy Lajos Király Street, apart from a single building which will be completed next year. Construction companies for the Üllői Street József Attila project will deliver six four-storey residential buildings in December.

Nearly 900 OTP-financed owner-occupied flats were completed by December this year and delivery to the public of ten buildings with more than two hundred apartments is now under way. (...)

Housing construction projects in Budapest have continued even through the winter months. According to our information Budapest construction companies have started work on more than four thousand new apartments. Work will continue in the winter and the apartments will be delivered as part of next year's project.

MTI

Esti Hírlap, 13 December 1960

248. Housing project



Sixty Thousand New Homes

Nearly sixty thousand Budapest families will have moved into new apartments in the course of the plan period now drawing to a close, and over the five years about 300 thousand Budapest residents have used flat exchanges to improve their housing conditions—it was stated by the Standing Committee for Construction and Housing Policy at the Municipal Council.

Despite rapid progress, the housing shortage remains an acute problem for the [Hungarian] capital. There were 115 thousand people on the waiting list in 1967 and since then the list has increased to 142 thousand. Furthermore, there has been no significant reduction in the number of co-tenancies, sub-lettings, and bed-sits. The authorities expect a significant improvement from a resolution designed to reform the system of applications for, and allocation of [council] rental-dwellings, and building society commercial housing to ensure fairer allocation of apartments in the future. In line with this, the current housing waiting list is under review, a new register of applications will be drawn up, and a new tenancy allocation plan will be drafted and published. It is also noteworthy that 40 per cent of all council housing to be constructed will be rental-dwellings, a welcome move primarily for low income workers and young married couples.

Népszabadság, 23 October 1970

New House—Old Habits

(...)

Even the oldest house in the village is less than fifteen years old. Rows of houses topped with red roofs are lined up in an almost haughty military order. This made-over village is deeply symbolic, of the increasing well-being, of the summer with its promise of a good crop, and of the future that is being built. People forge themselves into a new community of a higher order, and their faith in the future becomes ever firmer and deeper. (...)

We sit down in the kitchen. The cat also has a place here; it's enjoying a good nap on the settee in the corner. Drinking water is kept in two buckets with a blue dotted earthenware mug by the side—this is used to draw water from the bucket whenever anyone wants a drink. (...)

Wherever we go we find the same arrangement. There is a radio, washing machine, and electric iron in almost every household, but all this is in the kitchen. (...)

We did not find a single bathroom in any of the new houses. There wasn't even a washbasin to be seen in most places; it turned out later that this is because it is kept under the bed. (...)

There was no toothbrush or rinsing cup in any of the houses visited, which means that adults and children alike neglect oral hygiene. (...)

István Turán

A Vöröskereszt Családi Lapja

April 1962



~ 249. The new look of the village

250. New landscape ~





251. Village street

Unheard-of Underperformance in Budapest Housing Construction

During the first six months of the year 1,472 apartments were completed on housing projects, amounting to only 17.5 per cent of the projects scheduled for this year. According to the experts such poor results have not been seen for years and it is questionable whether commitments can be met. (...)

Unjustifiable hold-ups have delayed construction work on housing projects, mostly as a consequence of different teams being put in charge of laying the foundations, structural assembly, and finishing. If they do not co-ordinate their work properly, as sometimes happens, construction work can drag on for years, a sorry situation of which there are many examples. Continuous work is also hindered by a shortage of sub-contractors for skilled interior work. Even under these circumstances it is hard to explain such a poor performance in the first half of the year. It is anticipated that at least a thousand apartments with delivery scheduled for the current year may not be completed as planned, notwithstanding reports from contractors concerning the completion of 312 new homes in the first few days of July. The Project Directorate has called for immediate action from ÉVM and the contractors, asking them to work continuously and to do everything in their power to fulfill their contracts and to keep the projects moving.

(MTI)

Népszabadság, 10 June 1986





~ 253. Farm



• 252. On the balcony



256. Old workers' tenement ~

254-255. Garages ~ [Text on board: No dumping!]





~ 257. Housing project interior

258. Housing market ~

'Happy Estate'

(...)

Their current home is the result of four years' [hard] work and economizing. For the time being, there isn't much furniture in the rooms (my photo-journalist colleague and I had to take a seat on the bed), but in a couple of years—[the hosts] explain with a sparkle in their eyes—everything will look quite different. To save up 44,000 forints while the woman was on child benefit and the man was earning barely over 2,500 forints [a month] required a great deal of self-denial and strict financial arrangements which can be described only in superlatives. [The couple] filed their housing application in the spring, and in mid-November the removal van was parked in front of the house in Petőfi Street. The man has been working for Csőgyár [Pipe Manufacturing Factory] since 1957, and his wife has been there since 1958. Apart from them, another thirteen—out of ninety—applicants were awarded housing. (...)

Csepel, 24 December 1971

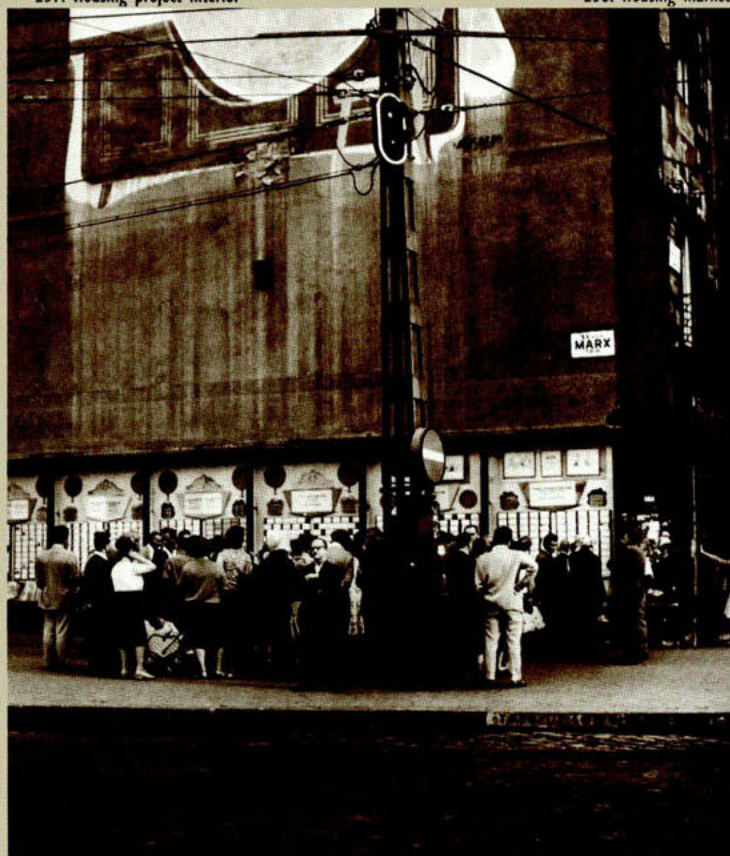
Transistor Ideals

What the psychologist has to say

Snobbery is an international phenomenon. Granted, in our region it is less powerful and universal; nevertheless its traces are discernible. In the West the petty bourgeoisie or the 'lower middle classes' copy the upper middle classes. As soon as a trendy phenomenon becomes universal, the upper middle class will 'innovate' and dictate something new once again, and the small-timers will be in a desperate hurry to imitate it. Now to return to the car business. A car is a mere object. And one that is often an object of fetishism. It surpasses its own significance, it surpasses its own practical use: it becomes a fetish. This is not merely an American problem.

... when a neighbor buys a car just to make the Szabó [family] mad with envy because they used to be the only ones in that housing block to own a car, that neighbor has fallen prey to snobbery, and his car has surpassed its own significance.

Ifjúsági Magazin, September 1966



259. Gypsy settlement interior ~





~ 260. The 'clean' room

261. Worker's apartment ~

Recognition, at Long Last

For years there has been a shortage of reclining furniture: sofas, beds, and settees. What was available in the shops was no more than unimaginative variations on an unsophisticated theme. For years the Hungarian *recamier* has been nothing but a mattress mounted on a rectangular wooden frame and upholstered—usually—in a single color and in not particularly high quality fabrics which seem faded. And not even at a cheap price. Having broken with the long tradition of monotony, the Chair and Upholstery Manufacturing Company has now launched four new models of reclining furniture under the brandnames Pillangó [Butterfly], Venus, Apollo, and Olympia.

All of them are a departure from what we were used to—or, to be more precise, what we were bored of. Thanks to their ingenious design, the settees can be used as an armchair or couch, or as a single or even double bed. The Pillangó [Butterfly] model is manufactured on an automatic production line imported from Switzerland with assistance from the National Bureau for Technological Development, while the other three models are manufactured on the basis of an Austrian license purchased jointly with Bútorért. Prices range from 2,300 to 5,700 forints: in other words, customers get better value for their money and more attractive and practical furniture. (...)

János Buzási

Népszabadság, 13 September 1970





263. Studio-flat

Student Health

(...)

Our findings show that nearly one-third of urban youngsters are suffering from a psychovegetative lability: their internal somatic and psychic functions are prone to instability. Given that village youngsters are less at risk from this condition, the disorder must be the consequence of urbanization.

(...)

Dr Pál Harmat
Családi Lap, August 1975

The Modern Kitchen

(...)

Whitewash the kitchen walls, or for an even better effect cover the walls with washable tiles or oil paint. Anyone can install the plastic tiles themselves. Cover the kitchen floor with stone tiles, or at least cover it with linoleum or poured concrete. (...)

Never sleep in the kitchen. Don't set up a bed in a room with lots of dust particles floating in the air as the result of comings and goings throughout the day and whose air is constantly being used up despite every effort to air it. Don't be afraid of cooler room temperatures, they will only make you sleep better and more healthily.

Angela Nagy
A Vöröskereszt Családi Lapja, May 1960





• 265. Budapest, November 7 Square [Text on neon sign: 'Insurance to protect the workers' interests']

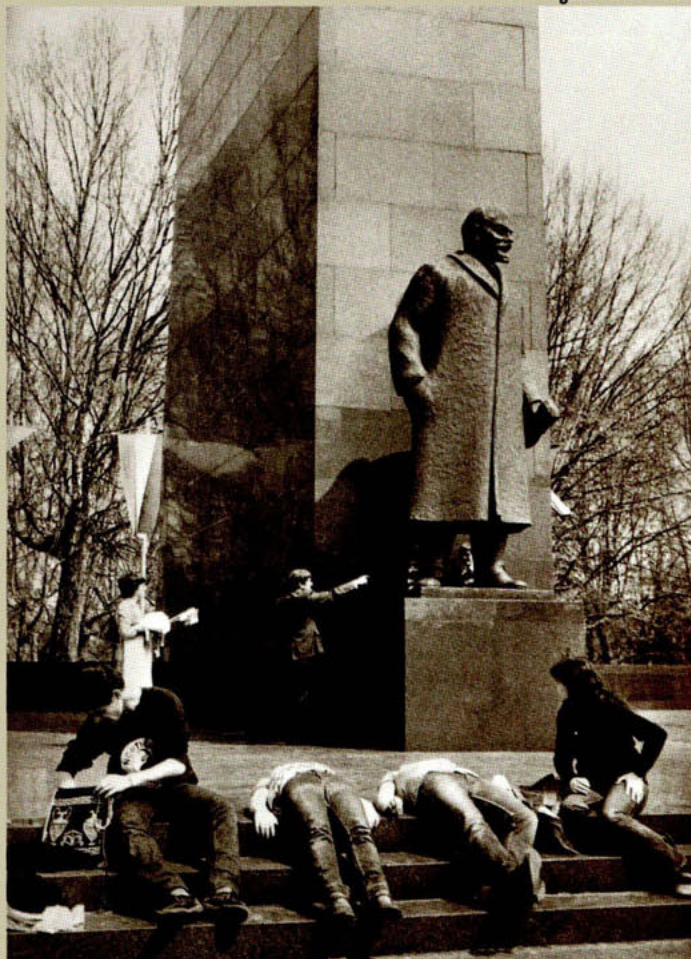
266. Budapest, Blaha Lujza Square: demolition of the National Theater •





~ 267. Youth Park

268. Together with Lenin



Places of Youth Entertainment to Be Designated

Young people with little money looking to have fun welcomed the resolution put forward by KISZ to designate places of youth entertainment in districts [of Budapest].

One place of entertainment per district will open its doors to young people two days a week. At alcohol-free tea afternoons, young guests will also be able to consume cold and hot dishes. A compulsory consumption charge of ten forints per person is tailored to make these events accessible to any young person's wallet. (...)

... everyone with a KISZ membership card will be admitted to the designated cafés and restaurants.

Order and discipline will be assured by Youth Guards.

(Szöke)

Esti Hírlap, 15 October 1964

Calling for New Moral Standards!

We are twenty years old, healthy, and grown-up young people. We have goals in life, dreams and ideas. We are all seeking happiness and a companion for life. It is probably not even right to call it a bourgeois [aspiration] that most girls want to have a husband, children, and family later in their lives. But what can a young woman do who can see that young men are interested in and deem suitable for a wife only those [women] who are demure, unapproachable, and innocent-looking? Those, on the other hand, who are open and frank about their feelings and who—God forbid—reveal that in love they have erotic desires too, are readily labeled women of easy virtue and more suitable for a passing affair.

In capitalist Hungary love was a 'commodity'. It was a question of money for how long and in what form someone wanted to acquire this 'commodity'. Based on capitalist morality—and their own practical experience!—my colleagues at university divide love founded on deep human feelings into the love of the flesh and spiritual love. To put it more simply, they think that a system of public brothels as justified by capitalist morality would be a good thing, and since in our society—to their deep regret—this has already ceased to exist, they are turning or seeking to turn the morality of such houses into something universal across our society. (...)

5th year arts student

Egyetemi Lapok, 10 March 1962

The Face of Ideals and of People

The two monumental figures—the monument to Marx and Engels—were carved into Mauthausen gray granite, the hardest and longest-lasting of all materials. The artist is György Segesdi. The statue will be erected at the Headquarters of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, at Jászai Mari Square. (...)

'I knew this much: I would not be able to create a traditional-style monument to these two extraordinary men. I approached my subject from an ideological point of view to make sure that the outward presentation of the idea would be out of the ordinary. To this end, I had to find a closed form and a clear structure which inevitably goes beyond outward appearance while recognizably retaining the characteristic profiles of Marx and Engels. My aim was to ensure that at first sight the spectator becomes engrossed in an impression which engraves in his mind the faces of two individuals in an instant and also the ideal which shaped a historic generation. This is the reason why I chose a prismatic structure.'

Harangozó

Esti Hírlap, 22 April 1971



269. Beach

270. Unofficial 15 March.





271. Long-distance bus stop [Text on wall: See you in the cinema!]

272. Waiting for a weekend train service

Why the Migration?

Workforce migration is among the most difficult problems faced by companies and factories today. A far greater number of people are changing their workplace than a few years ago. The Ministry of Labor summarized the statistics of 150 companies and found that 50 per cent more workers gave their notice in 1968 than in 1967. They found a roughly similar ratio in the first few months of 1969. And what is particularly worthy of note: today the frequent changing of workplaces is no longer the preserve of so-called 'migrating birds'; the inter-factory circulation has also swept away such social strata as old-time employees, solid, trustworthy workers who used to stay at the same workplace for years.

Still, in many places the blame for increased workforce migration is being placed on new labor legislation and the abolition of restrictions on giving one's notice.

(...)

Experience shows that only by dealing with what makes the workers hand in their notice in the first place can the situation be resolved. (...)

Népszabadság, 27 August 1969





273. Club room at the Workers' Hostel

274. Locker room at a factory





◀ 275. Factory seen from above

276. Factory cafeteria ▶



Wider Choice and Improved Quality at Factory Cafeterias

The level of service at factory kitchens affects a very large number of people; throughout the country some 750,000 people visit the cafeteria at their workplace every day. Consumer opinion is almost unanimous: the quality of meals has improved a lot, and choice has become much wider too. Today the menu nearly everywhere includes a choice of two different soups and vegetables, two or three different garnishes and pasta dishes, and 8–10 meat dishes.

The bonuses of cafeteria staffs depend primarily on the high quality of the meals they serve, so they pay the price if they do not use the prescribed ingredients.

Despite improvements, complaints are still frequent in some areas. Every month dozens of reports are received by the headquarters of factory catering companies about a shortage of cutlery, stale bread, slow and unfriendly service, and cold food being put on the table. (...)

The shortage list produced by the kitchen of the Beloianisz factory, for instance, included 228 plates, 1,076 glasses, 298 spoons, 311 forks, and 68 knives over a period of six months. And the situation is no better elsewhere. Most factories cannot make up these shortages straightaway; therefore appeals are made to the workforce to take better care of the factory cafeterias because in this way they will be helping themselves.

Népszabadság, 7 February 1962



Legal Counsel

(The crime of shirking and begging)

(...)

According to the relevant statute of the Penal Code any individual who, though able to work, in fact avoids it, is punishable by a prison sentence.

The crime of begging is not dealt with in our Penal Code, because begging by an individual who is able to work as a rule comes under the crime of shirking, whereas begging by individuals who are unable to work is prevented by our state with [measures of] institutional social welfare rather than with imprisonment.

Therefore, in the definition of the Penal Code a 'shirking life-style' is one led by an individual who is able to work, but who fails to take up employment which would provide him with a livelihood, despite the fact that he does not have the means to satisfy his life necessities. (...)

278. Factory interior

Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 15 November 1969



The New Name of Sztálinváros [Stalin City] Is Dunaújváros [New Danube City]

At the request of the workers of our new socialist city, the Sztálinváros Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the City Council, and the local presidium of the National Front made a request to the Presidential Council of the [Hungarian] People's Republic to change the name of the city. The Presidential Council of the [Hungarian] People's Republic granted the request and renamed Sztálinváros 'Dunaújváros'. (MTI)

Népszabadság,
25 September 1961



~ 279. Traffic crossing

280. Winter landscape ~

~ 281. Town Market Hall





• 282. Prison

283. Prison inmates working •





~ 284. In the Buda Hills

285. Ball at the Gundel ~



Jenő Fock:
The Experience of
Building the Economy
in the People's Hungary*

()

Within the framework of today's peaceful economic competition we are still faced by the great task of catching up with and superseding the current per capita industrial production level of the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe. We firmly believe that we will be able to do so within the not-too-distant future—given a historical perspective. (...)

In Hungary, during pre-counter-revolutionary times many challenged the economic mechanism. During the debate some voiced right wing, revisionist views and sought to change the essence of the planned economy. Others, on the contrary, defended the planned economy and took a dogmatic position, rigidly rejecting the correction of even obvious mistakes. Our party takes a position which can be described as 'creative Marxism-Leninism': the economic mechanism must be formulated in accordance with the existing situation to make sure that it is well suited to supporting the [government's] economic policy at any time. We must have the courage to break with what reality has rendered obsolete and we must set the door wide open to what is new and to what takes social development forward. ()

* This article was published in the 28 March issue of the [Russian] daily Pravda

Népszabadság, 29 March 1964

The first self-service restaurant [in Hungary] is about to open in Pécs. Ready meals will be served from a 16-meter-long, steam-heated counter. Meals will be consumed sitting down at tables.

Népszabadság,
 30 December 1959



• 286. The 'Gerbeaud' café



• 287 Self-service restaurant

288. Abbazia Café •





- 289. Village pub

290. Young Artists' Club -





291. Váci Street café in Budapest

292. Patyolat [dry-cleaner and laundry]





◀ 293. Weekend home

294. Weekend allotments ▶

Wooden Bungalows

It seems that this year's BNV fair for small wooden weekend homes and bungalows has been more successful than similar events in the past. The choice has widened noticeably: the products of Erdért, Faért, and various crafts co-operatives are now complemented by budget weekend homes manufactured in the woodwork shops of agricultural co-operatives. (...)

Quite a stir was caused, for instance, by Erdért's two-storey hunting lodge, premiered at this year's BNV fair, which is capable of accommodating up to 10–12 people. It comes complete with a fine interior design, a balcony, and a triple-leafed door with glass inlay. Its serial production will start in 1971. (...)

Népszabadság, 30 May 1970

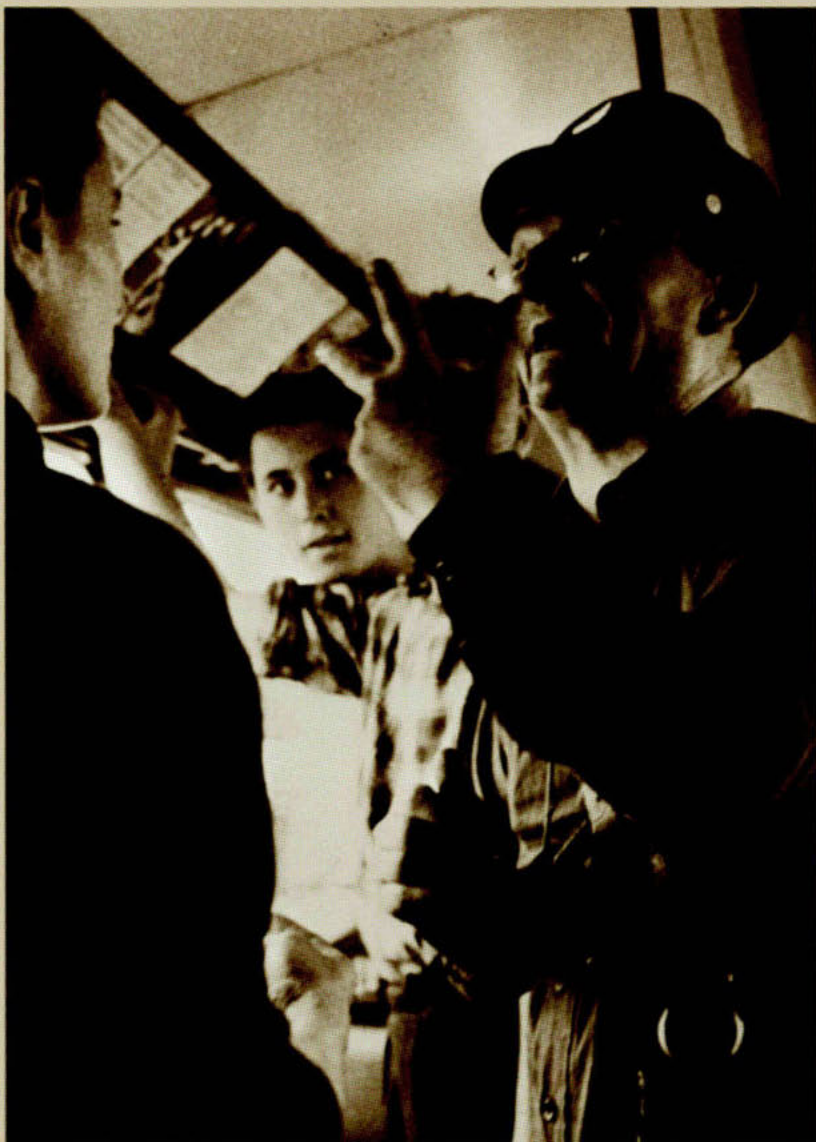


SITUATIONS



II.





296. Tram ticket collector •

A Hard Question

Tram No. 6 is approaching along the Boulevard from the direction of the Western Railway Station. The road surface has been dug up and some stops have been moved in connection with the maintenance work. 'Next stop, November 7th Square', shouts the good-looking young ticket collector who cannot be more than 18 years old and who is wearing a KISZ badge. He tells a couple from the provinces, who had inquired earlier, that their stop is coming up. Then he gives precise directions to others, in a helpful manner and without thinking, as if all the street names were at his fingertips. 'Could you tell me, mister ticket collector,' an elderly woman turns to him expectantly, 'will we be stopping at Király Street?'

The fuzzy-cheeked official in charge of the tramcar is startled for a minute and looks around imploringly; then he asks in an uncertain voice: 'Where is Király [King] Street?'

But before anyone can answer him he announces the next stop, loud and clear, using the name by which he knows it: 'Majakovskij Street!'

T.O.

Népszabadság, 29 June 1960



297. The first metro line is now ready ~
[text on board: This is the last tram service on Rákóczi Street.]



298. The 'Black Train'

299. Pickpocket •





~ 300. Commuter

301. Literature Studio Theater ~





• 302. Alone

303. At the detoxification clinic •





304. Observing the scene

305. Tête-à-tête on a street corner



Communiqué of the Council of Ministers

A Number of Consumer Prices and Service Charges Have Gone Up

Income-increasing measures

The government has adopted a resolution to improve the equilibrium of the economy and to reduce domestic consumption, the budget deficit, and consumer price subsidies. In this connection it has decided to increase a number of consumer prices and service charges and to introduce income-increasing measures [by way of compensation].

I.

From 20 July 1987 consumer prices will be affected as follows:

– The price of automobile gasoline and fuel oil will rise by 2 forints a liter: for instance, at the new price, one liter of 92 octane automobile gasoline will cost 22 forints, and [one liter] of fuel oil will cost 11.7 forints (...)

– The consumer price of flour and bakery products will go up by 19 per cent on average. Within this, price of refined flour will be increased from 8 forints to 8.4 forints a kilo. The consumer price of bread products will rise by 16 per cent and that of pastries by 32 per cent on average: for instance, 1 kilo of white bread will now cost 9.6 forints, while Alföldi bread will cost 12 forints at the new price; one bread roll will now cost 90 fillérs. (...)

II.

After consultations with the National Council of Trade Unions, the Council of Ministers has also decided to compensate pensions and other benefits.

The pensions of persons under 70 years of age will be increased by 100 forints a month.

Child benefit will go up by 50 forints a month for each child, and income supplement will be increased at the same rate.

The income supplement paid in addition to child care benefit will be increased from 500 to 600 forints. (...)

Népszabadság, 20 June 1987

János Kádár's Visit to the Holy Father

On the morning of 9 June, the last day of his visit to Italy, János Kádár and his entourage paid a visit to the Vatican. (...)

'Your visit today is beyond doubt a unique and particularly significant event', said the Pope, 'one might almost say, the final act in a slow but uninterrupted process. In the course of this process, over the last 14 years, the Holy See and the People's Republic of Hungary have drawn closer to one another, step by step, putting behind them a period of tension and isolation, the echoes of which have still not vanished, even today. This meeting gives us something to think about. Our thoughts go out to those here today: on the one hand, to those from the Holy See who have embraced and promoted the cause of reconciliation—following in the footsteps of our predecessor, of beloved memory Pope John XXIII, who in the twilight of his earthly existence made the first step in this direction—and, on the other hand, to those laboring in the same cause, in positions of responsibility in the name of the Hungarian government, one of the principal and most authoritative facilitators of this initiative.'

Új Ember, 19 June 1977



◀ 306. Inauguration of bishops

307. In church ▶

308. Religious procession ▶



Education in Atheism at a History Lesson

(...)

A good teacher is something of an actor and something of a judge. And a good history teacher is—to no small degree—also a politician. (...)

After we read the textbook on [ancient] Greek religion, I give a detailed account of the mythological notions of gods and, most importantly, of the universe. These naive ideas produce mirth and often a loud outburst of laughter. This is the moment that one must seize. (...)

Subsequently, I say not a word to the effect that there is no god: on the contrary, I keep emphasizing the sheer number of them! Just look at the Greeks, at how many they had. But it was not only the Greeks who had so many gods, others did too. (...)

The way I put it: 'Christ, the founder of Christianity, was born—according to the Christian myth—during the reign of Emperor Augustus'. [The students] note the phrases 'according to the Christian myth' and 'Christ, the founder of Christianity'. This is new to them and calls for some explanation, which runs as follows: only Christian sources mention Christ's birth and miracles, and they may be presumed to have a vested interest at stake, wouldn't they? Isn't it curious that the chronicle writers of the period, who otherwise noted every tiny historical detail, wrote not a word about the miraculous acts of Christ? (...)

It is quite easy to implant the following thought deep in the mind: Whenever the Pope's help was sought in the course of Hungarian history (to stop Turkish expansion and to protect the Christian world), the most he would do was to bless the warriors and their arms—although [the Pope's] treasury was brimming with riches—or to pray for victory: he never gave either money or soldiers. I never forget to mention, for instance, that the Pope's sole contribution to the triumph at Nándorfehérvár was to make the bells toll at noon. (...)

He whose actions are motivated by [religious] faith is only a blind wanderer in the world. He has no convictions of his own because he is prevented by his faith from forming them. It is interesting to observe how often forms of religion have obstructed speculation and the study of nature and society on the part of the faithful. Why? Obviously because they knew that science and religion are enemies. The wise man accepts what he may verify for himself. Well, one cannot verify the existence of God—his existence must simply be taken on faith. I have never seen or experienced a god of the kind portrayed by religious teachings and I cannot even imagine one—I [certainly] cannot believe in one.

Győző Torma
Köznevelés, September 1963

309. [text on the posters on the wall: Revolutionary Youth Days, 1986]





~ 310. 'The revolutionariness of everyday life'

311. Family with a new car ~



For Our Tomorrows

(...)

This is not a time when either individuals or companies might be able to draw up a list of their wishes and submit it to the government, which would then make these wishes come true. There has never been such a time, despite appearances to the contrary, and there never will be. Let us discard all illusions of this kind once and for all. Our current . . . situation makes it clear that, in future, general welfare and livelihoods may not be maintained without industrious, disciplined, and conscientious work and without a willingness to endure self-denial and sacrifice for the sake of the future. (...)

Pál Gulyás
Népszabadság, 19 June 1982



~ 312. Outside a railway terminal

313. Stabbed with a knife ~

Alcohol and Crime

(...)

And alcohol harms not only the individual. Its dark and insidious power brings together a number of maleficent elements, creating an alliance between the former era's police officers, the usual criminals, and former staff members of the Horthy army's high command, enabling them to pillage and plunder communal property, having found a brotherhood in drinking. (...)

Magyar Rendőr, 18 August 1959

~ 314. Police asking for identification papers



The Accident at the Nuclear Power Station

(...) The Soviet Union informed the governments of many countries, several international organizations, and the general public of the events which had taken place at the nuclear power station.

Political leaders acting responsibly and journalists thinking objectively handled the events calmly and without superfluous commotion. In the USA and a number of other NATO countries, however, some groups have been spreading false information and making nonsensical claims in their comments on the accident. They are portraying this unfortunate mishap as if it were some kind of international crisis. (...) Rational people all over the world understand that an accident has happened against which no guarantees yet exist. Lessons will be learned from the incident that will benefit the international community as a whole, which does not yet have the power to rule out the possibility of accidents at nuclear power stations. (...)

The Hungarian technical monitoring services will keep measuring samples of air, water, soil, foliage, and food.

According to earlier analyses conducted in Budapest, there has been a fall in radioactive emission levels.

Radioactive emissions are everywhere far below the level at which they pose a risk to health.

Control measurements will continue to be taken. According to an announcement made by the National Civil Defense Command, the national measurement network has not registered significant changes in comparison to the last few days. According to the Ministry of Culture, all Hungarian students studying in Kiev are well and are continuing with their studies.

Esti Hírlap, 4 May 1986

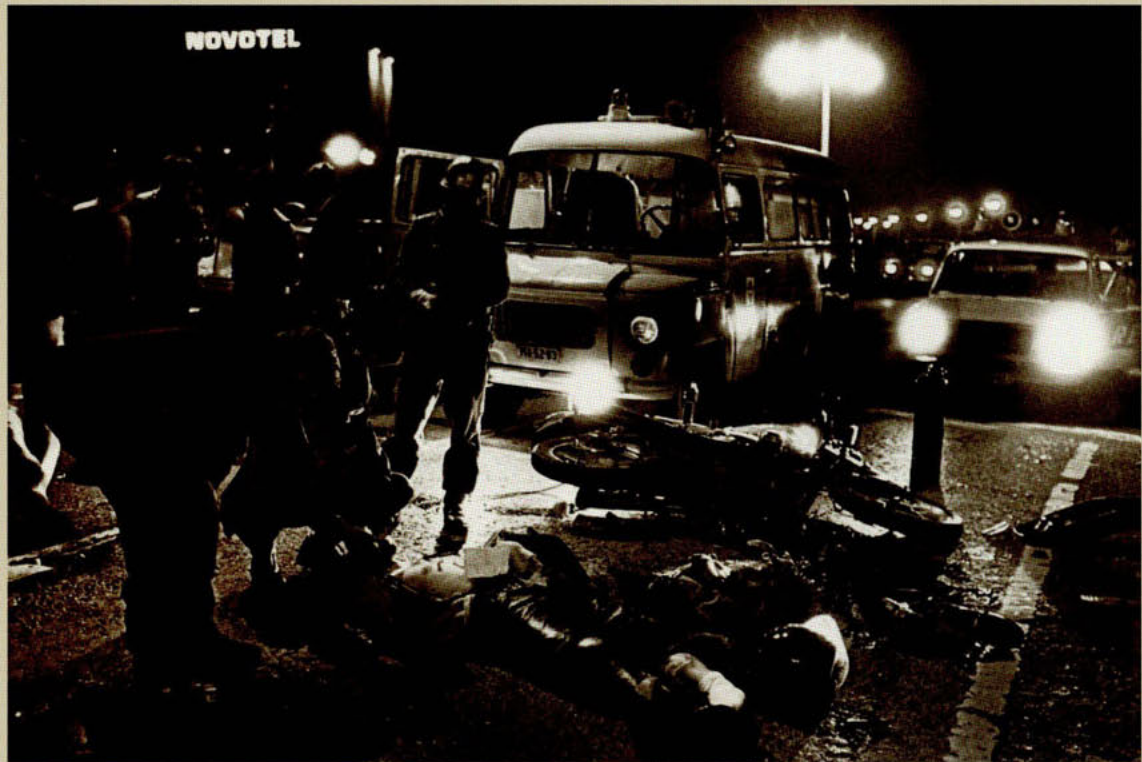
This Is How to Do It!

Clothing Searches and Handcuffing

(...)

During the body search the patrol officer should push the barrel of his weapon into the back of the person he wishes to identify and proceed to search his clothes with his left hand. During a clothing search the patrol officer should insert his left foot between the suspect's legs. On finding an article suitable for combat (weapon, knife, etc.), it should be thrown on the ground and [the patrol officer] should pick it up only after handcuffing the suspect.

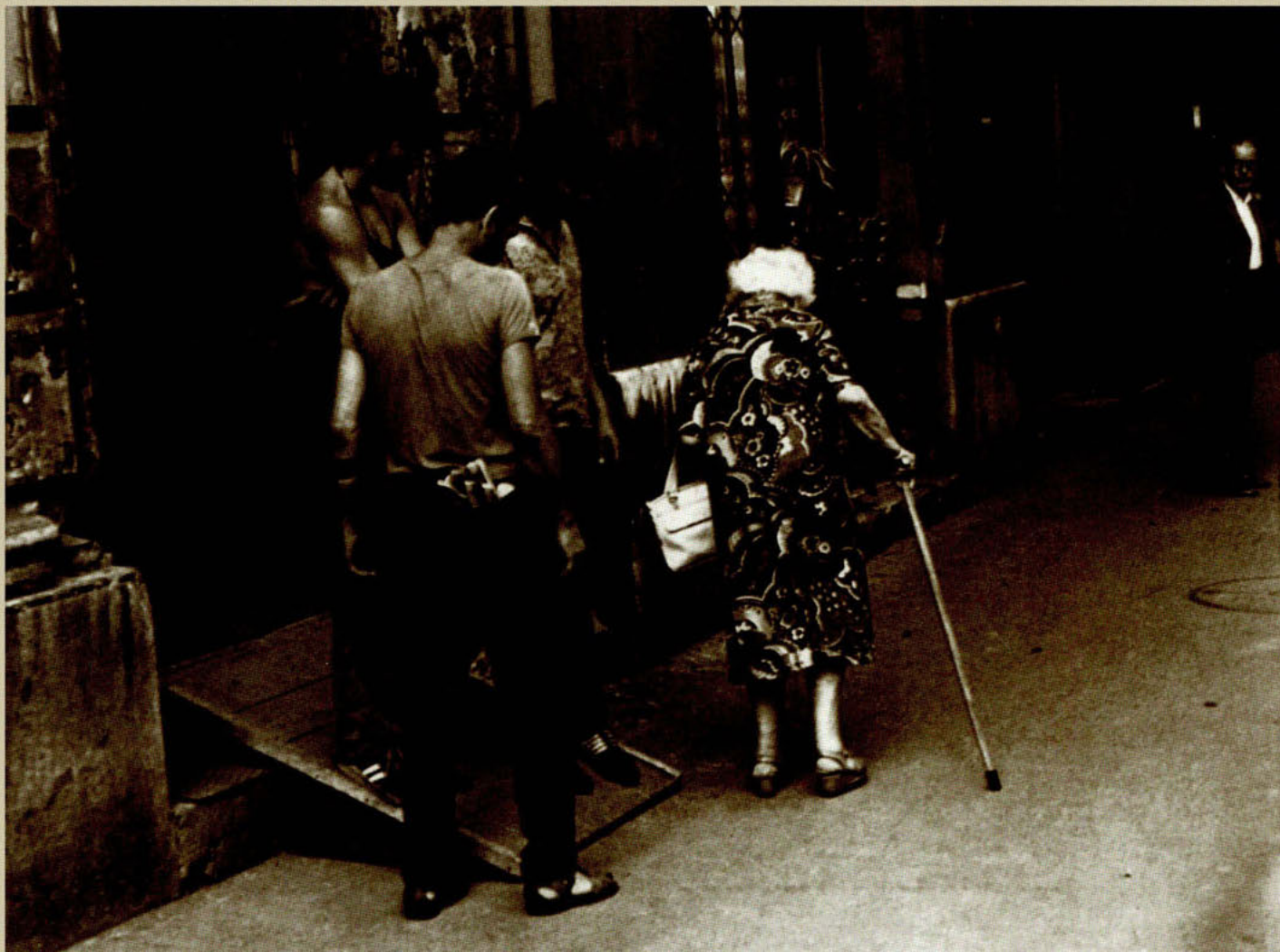
Magyar Rendőr, 4 February 1957



315. Traffic accident

316. Identity check





317. The way of old age

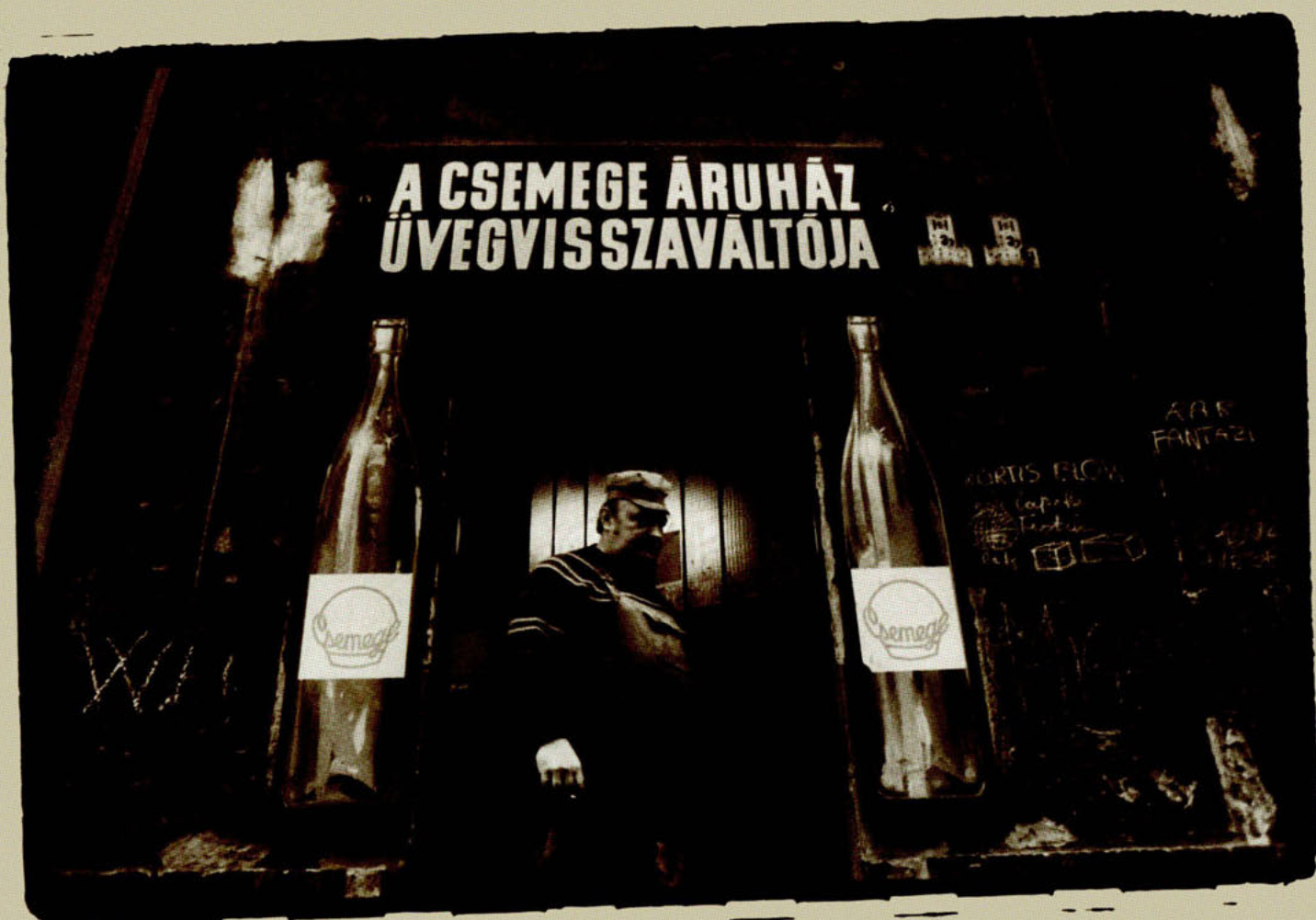
318. Evening course



Public Life under Socialism

(...)
Our regime—despite superficial appearances—favors kind-hearted, frank individuals permeated with a sense of social responsibility and commitment to our cause. There are still swindlers, duckers and divers, 'grabbers', and cynics in our society, and they represent a not insignificant threat. They prey on opportunities created by the irresponsible behavior, heedlessness, and lack of discipline which have still not been eradicated. Moral condemnation is powerless against them. We have to arrange our ranks and organize our own work, supervision, and the protection of public property in such a manner as to ensure that such people cannot survive in a community of decent people even for one hour. (...)

László Ágoston
Szabad Föld, 6 June 1971



~ 319. Claiming the deposit on bottles

320. Pay day ~



Classified Ad

I have unexpectedly come into a large sum of money. I can't decide whether to invest it or to use it to change my life. I await offers and advice under the codename 'Lottery Jackpot' at the editorial office.

*Magyar Nemzet,
9 March 1978*

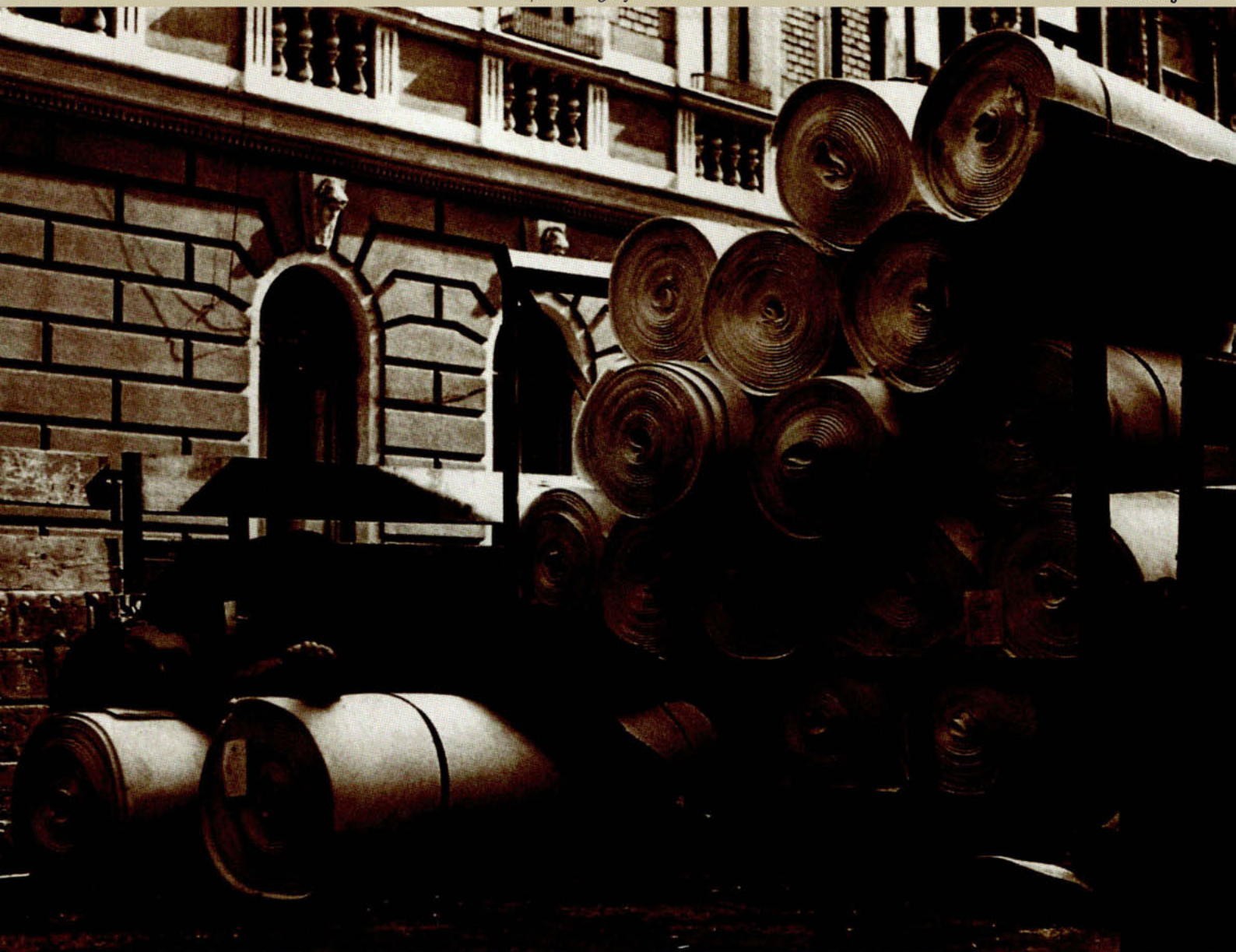
Press Conference by Government Spokesman Dr Rezső Bányász

(...)

"Were there, are there strikes in Hungary?"—inquired a correspondent from *Veszprémi Napló*. The government spokesman had no knowledge of such things. In Hungary the possibility of a strike is not subject to statutory regulation; therefore it is not banned. Just as the Constitution stipulates the right of workers to employment, it will be necessary to consider this [possibility] too in the event of any amendment, or indeed any drafting of a new Constitution, and to regulate the ways in which a strike may be announced, arranged, and conducted, not to mention the rules of participation in strikes, to make sure that statutory regulations cover this area too, Dr Bányász said.

Népszabadság, 3 June 1988

321. Resting



VGMK [Working Association within the Enterprise]—a Distorting Mirror

(...) People work harder in VGMKs because their earnings more closely reflect their efforts. And vice versa: they 'take it easy' during their regular working hours because—due to certain restrictions imposed by the regulations—their wages do not take into consideration a higher level of performance; indeed, no one forces them to exert themselves in any way. (...)

Katalin Bossányi

Népszabadság, 30 January 1987



• 322. Retirement party [text on note: A heartfelt farewell to our colleague, János Gröb]

Activism and Modesty

(...)

The petty bourgeois (small proprietor, small producer), because he is a proprietor, puts the highest value on activities pursued for gain. But he is not only a proprietor, he is also a laborer. He does not wield any form of power—on the contrary—and he is himself exploited by the capitalist state. His place in the structure of production dissipates his efforts, renders him isolated and fragmented, and therefore he cannot unite with a group to pursue well-organized political action. Rather he tends to 'modestly' withdraw from the public sphere and to concentrate his efforts on the private sphere and his individual interests. (...)

During the period of building socialism, one can only dream of an activity that is perfect and infallible. The nation is still only learning about democracy.

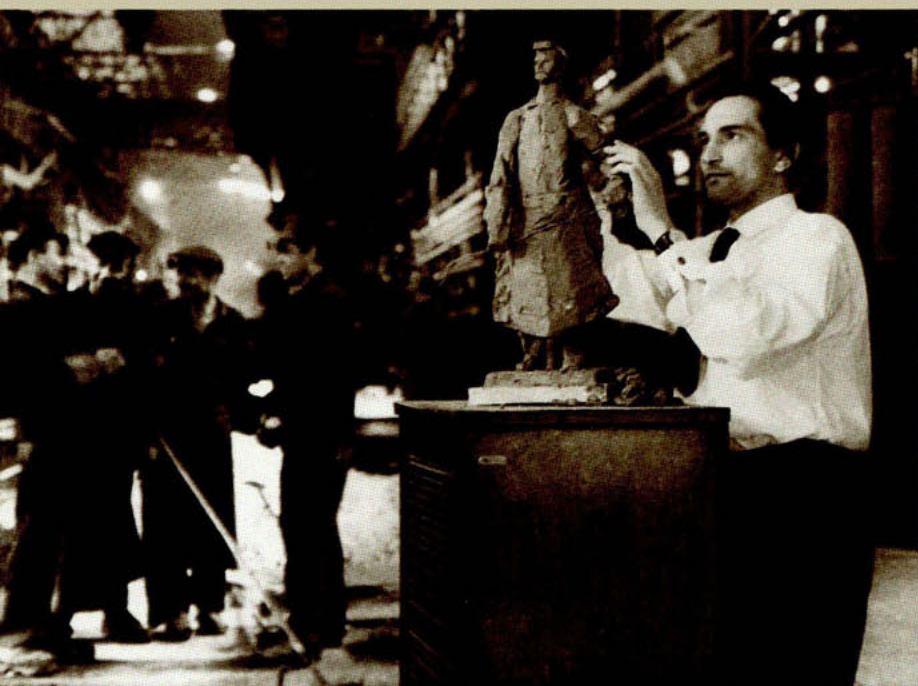
Therefore those who are active are bound to make mistakes. Their suggestions and deeds include correct observations and purposeful and effective action; but they can also slip and get hold of the wrong end of the stick. (...)

Róbert Pogány

Népszabadság, 3 February 1965

323. Exercise at work •







~ 327. Sunbathing babies

328. Little ones in the street ~

I Have Lied to My Little Son

'Dad! Please tell me, will your director come to see you?...' 'Yes, he will, my dear son.' '[To see] you and what you do?...'

'He comes down to see us and he is surrounded.
'He is a good man!... You should think that of him, too!'
(...How fortunate that [lying] is not a punishable offense.)
I have lied to my little son!...

Tamás Fehér

Fogaskerék, 11 May 1962





329. At school

330. High school students

Girls and Patriotism

(...)

Leaning across their desks, they are quietly discussing something completely different: a girl-friend (who passed her school certificate) who got married in the summer. She married an Englishman on holiday here [in Hungary]. There are only a few months to go before the waiting period is over and she can join him in London. No one is asking any questions about whether the husband is young or old, or what he does for a living. Everyone seems quite content with the knowledge that he is English, and they all envy the young woman. (...)

With the emergence of the notion of the working woman, the stereotypical [mother] rocking her baby has now been complemented by the image of the woman-creator wielding the slide rule and the welding torch, in recognition of the fact that these are also ways in which she can build the homeland. But this cannot exempt [women] from the duty of having to bring up children.

Antal Medvegy

Köznevelés, 27 February 1967



KNEB* Meeting

(...) In May KNEB proposed the imposition of a production penalty on the Zalka Máté Agricultural Co-operative in Nagybánhegyes for using inadequate quantities of certain raw materials in the production of 'Túró Rudi', and the substitution from time to time of cheaper raw materials for more valuable ones, thereby making it possible to earn an unfair profit. The Békés County Court ordered the co-operative to pay a production penalty of 1.8 million forints and 54,000 forints in stamp duty. The co-operative appealed against the ruling. The Supreme Court upheld the verdict and ordered the co-operative to pay an additional 108,000 forints in appeal fees. (MTI)

Népszabadság, 28 October 1984

* People's Bureau of Central Control.

János Kádár's Speech at the 1st KISZ Congress

(...) 'Comrades! A revolutionary fire must constantly be kept alight in communists, young and old. (...) We are constantly watching the class enemy and imperialism, especially because only four short years ago we were able to observe them face to face, unmasked and at close range. And we fired on them when we had to. But now we can deal them the hardest blow by continuing to strengthen our regime and further developing our national economy, socialist culture, and standards of living. (...)

'Lenin taught communists not to undervalue small, everyday actions, because the greatest [achievement], the victory of the socialist revolution, is made up and born of millions of small, seemingly everyday actions.

'Every decent young person who wants to be a communist has a place in KISZ,' János Kádár emphasized. (...)

Esti Hírlap, 18 December 1960





~ 332. 'And make sure you take care of yourselves!'

333. Hitch-hikers [Sign reads: 'I am not a hooligan—you too had to walk once'] ~



Our Needs

(...)

Not all desires have to be prioritized. There are some which must be rejected—by their very nature, being a reflection of a bourgeois outlook—because they can never be fulfilled in a socialist society, and there are others which cannot be fulfilled throughout society for one reason or another. (...)

There are many other ways in which socialism cannot match the consumer ideal of capitalist society, the boundless accumulation of personal belongings. The qualitative supremacy of our regime increasingly finds expression also in the ability of the working individual, through his share in public property, to use and benefit from goods which can make life easier and more attractive without having to buy them individually for himself. (...)

Jenő Szántó

Népszabadság, 1 December 1978

The Hardships of Setting up a Home

I have been on the waiting list for an apartment for eleven years.

(...) Then I went to see the Secretary of the Housing Department to ask for his help. He too told me that I was eligible for an apartment, but that they didn't have the means to give me one. What he did give me was advice: 'You are a worker and so is your husband: just pick up the trowel and build one.' I'm not afraid of work but, unfortunately, I can't afford to build [a house], and that's not my fault. I earn 1,200 forints [a month], and my husband is a driver at the Public Road Operating Company in Kecskemét, and his wages are 1,470 forints on average. How can we afford to build something on this sort of money after paying the rent? I am told that our society needs not only doctors, actors, and skilled workers in fashionable trades, but it also values people who earn their bread by hard work using their bare hands.

Please help us, because if nothing changes, our family could fall apart. We are in a very difficult situation.

Mrs M. H., Kecskemét
Családi Lap, July 1969



~ 334. Autumn hat fashions

335. Your apartments are being built! ~





~ 336. Writer (István Csúrká), poet (Sándor Csóóri), and politicians: István Horváth, Minister; János Barnabás, Party Secretary

337. Non-Party-member intellectuals as invited guests in the public gallery at a Party congress ~





~ 338. Oscar-winning film (director István Szabó)

339. 'Gulyás party' ~



– A 'puli' census was held in the Hortobágy which concluded that there are 204 shepherd dogs at work today on the vast Hortobágy puszta.

Népszabadság, 10 June 1958



340. 'Election' [Inscription on wall poster: 'It's not enough to desire what's good: you must want it! And it's not enough to want it: You must act upon it!']

Village Development and Young People

By: Csaba Csáky, General Secretary of the Agricultural Youth Committee of the Central Committee of KISZ

(...) The April resolution of the Central Committee set out the objective of making sure that KISZ members do not exhibit two different sets of behavior. Whatever [a KISZ member] undertakes in terms of work and public life he must maintain also in his leisure time. This will encourage village commuters, numbering half-a-million people, to be more actively involved in the social life of the community and in the implementation of the tasks of regional development. The objective is therefore clear. It is not easy to achieve, but the tasks of KISZ which serve the good of the whole village and its future may be realized by way of consistent, everyday work and social support. (...)

Szabad Föld, 25 August 1974



341. Old-fashioned cooking stoves are now obsolete



342. Greenhouse-farmers

Classified Ad

We deliver suffocation-free goose and duck force-feeding equipment anywhere for 44 forints. Cash on delivery. István Bajári, 34 Liliom Street, Monor. *Népszabadság*, 2 October 1958

Pig-Raising Pedagogues

Even today it is not infrequent, or even surprising, that the term 'pig farmer' is attached—as a kind of epic epithet—to the names of teachers living in the provinces. The term covers many things: the stipendiary land⁸ on which the elementary school and grade teachers hoe corn in their spare time; mixing hog-wash (more recently, enriched feed) at dawn and in the afternoon; a chicken yard; stuffed geese; heaps of eggs in a basket—all the handiwork of women teachers or teachers' wives. (...)

In other words, the general public believes even today that being a provincial pedagogue is equivalent to the systematic renunciation of all intellectual concerns, becoming dull, and having a tendency to want to rule the roost and to sink into humble idleness. The odd creative exception is regarded as a sensation and is reported in the newspapers and on television. And [such beliefs] are not without foundation.

For quite some time now, the teacher has no longer been playing the role of torch-bearer in the village, community, or small town: she is now only one among a number of 'intellectuals' in the village, and in any case, her pay is far too low to cover her naturally increasing needs for intellectual and material goods, that is, to enable her to spare the time and energy to become a bearer of light. (...)

Ibolya Cs. Nagy
Hajdú-Bihari Napló,
15 February 1979

The Outcome of Good, Sound Policies

(...)

The help and assistance given to the peasantry and the sound policies of the Party and the government have helped the working population of the villages understand that our people's state has faith in them, and they have responded by returning that faith.

Over the last one and a half months individual farmers have switched to co-operatives by the tens of thousands. Between 1 January and the end of last week 80,000 families with over 966,000 acres of land had left the narrow marge of small plots for the wide and straight highway of co-operative farming. (...)

Szabad Föld, 1 March 1959

The Co-operative Movement: Balance Sheet and Outlook

(...) The idea—or, to be more precise, the 'reflex response'—that came into being some time ago, that one-third of the 1,268 producers' co-operatives [TSZ] and 62 agricultural co-operatives are doing well, one-third are performing adequately, and one-third are under-performing, is unfortunately now obsolete because the balance has shifted: the number of farms in the third category has mushroomed. In 1985 [Hungarian] agriculture failed to meet the targets of the planned economy, and although the value of the co-operatives' production was above 220 billion forints, their earnings and profits fell by several billion forints. (...)

Imre Sz. Lukács

Szabad Föld, 17 May 1986

— The Farmers' Federation of Hajdú County set up a buffet car for harvesters. In addition, bicycle buffets carry cool drinks for those working in the fields in the region of Berettyó-újfalú.

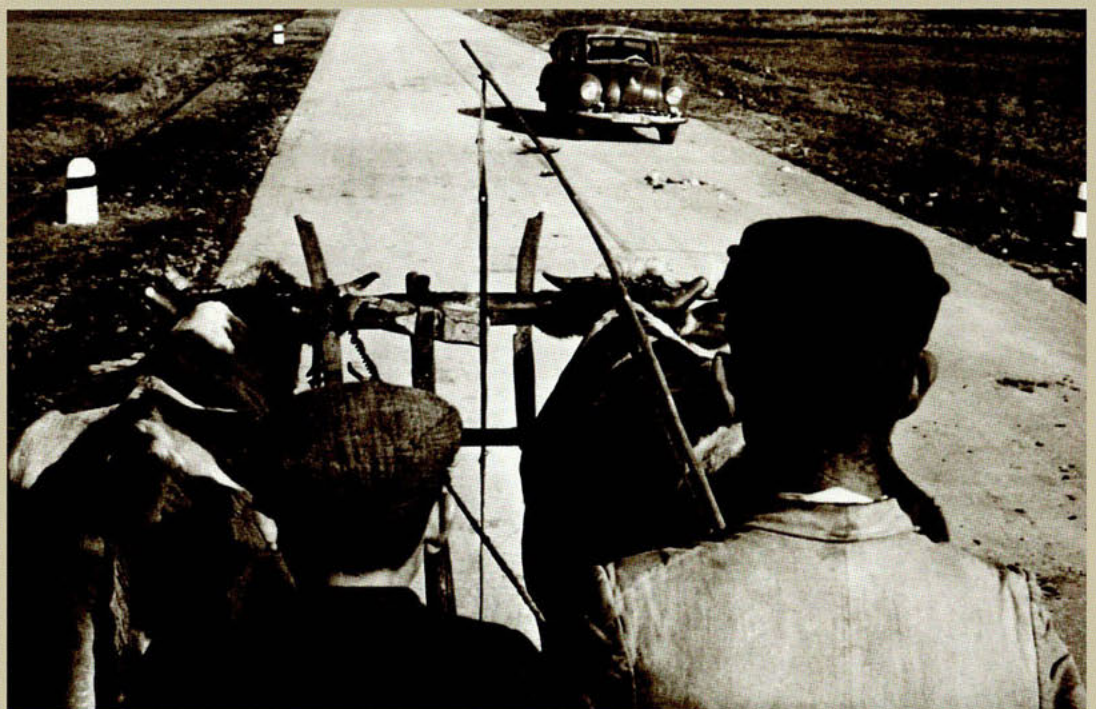
Népszabadság, 11 July 1958



343–344. By hand and by machine



345. Encounter

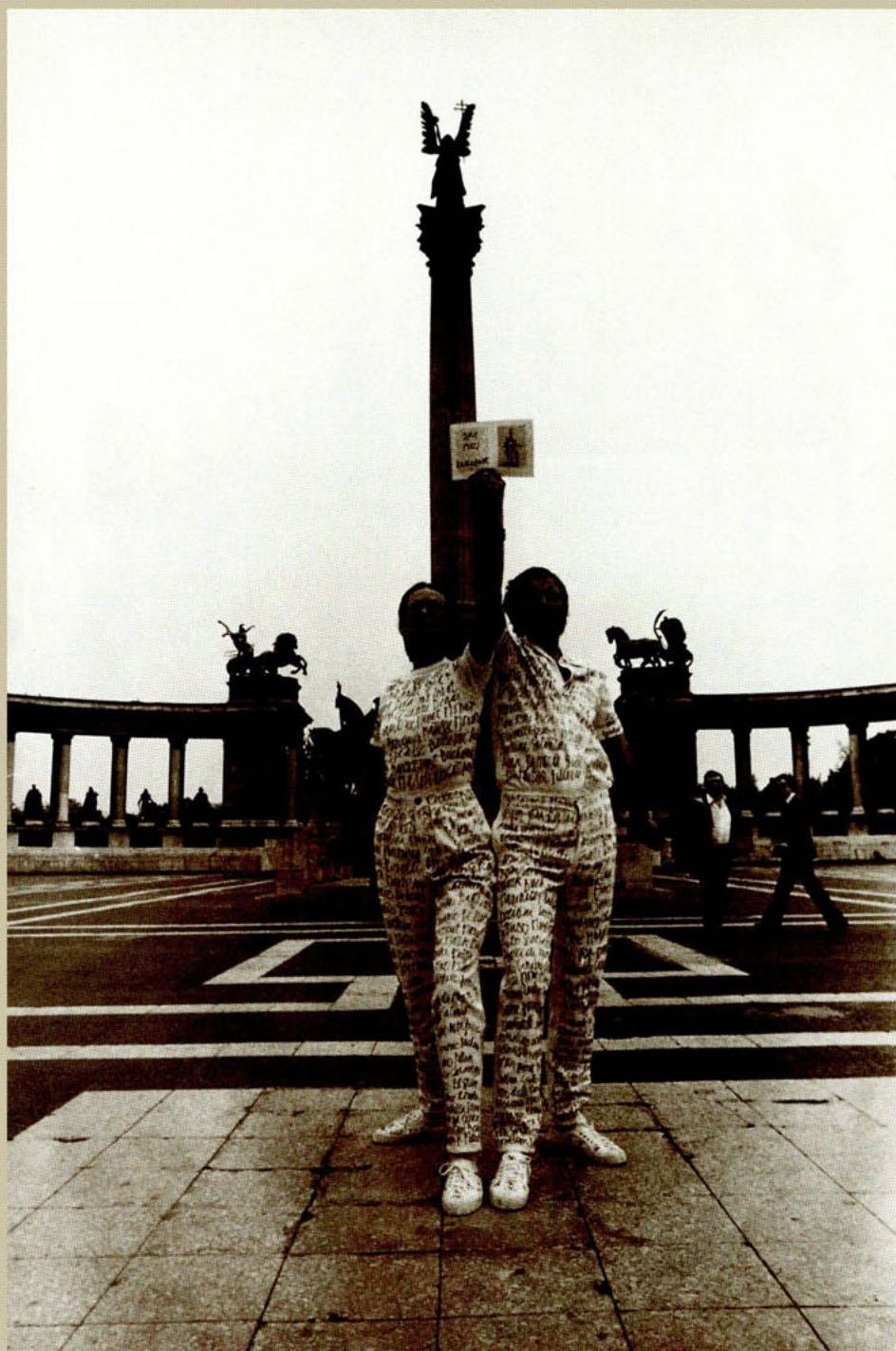




~ 346. At the office

347. At the doctor's surgery ~





348. Hommage à Vera Muhina

János Kádár on Education

(...) A few months ago I visited the Medical University in Budapest and had a number of pleasant meetings with professors and others. We discussed a range of problems facing the medical community, among other things, our request that they educate professionals in the communist spirit. Most students and professors are not communists themselves; nevertheless, our request can be fulfilled. There is no contradiction here. I tried to explain the difference between the present and the future. Today, the state can work together with the medical community, although we are aware that, while some doctors are communists and some are sympathetic to the regime, others are politically neutral or even reactionaries. We will work together with them as long as they are good doctors and abide by the laws of the People's Republic of Hungary. But in thirty years' time this will no longer be satisfactory, and we must think about that. Imagine, comrades—I said—a doctor today who, having examined the patient's tongue, felt his back, and written out a prescription, reflects for a while and says: 'Do you know that Otto Habsburg is a clever man!' And what does the patient do? He goes away and says no more about it. But in ten years' time there will be an advanced socialist society, and we must be aware of that when thinking about educating the people of the future. Today's university students, young men and women aged 18–20, will be practicing doctors in 40 years' time. It is 1961 now—at that time it will be 2001. What will be the situation in Hungary? There will be communism, there will be a communist society! Imagine our patient 40 years later when he goes to see the doctor who feels his back, writes out a prescription, and finally—because of our oversight, our fault—goes on to say: 'Did you know that Otto Habsburg was not a stupid man?' What will happen then? [Mirth from the audience.] Then it will be the patient and not the doctor who will call for an ambulance.

(...)

Köznevelés, 14 May 1961

CONSUMERISM AND SHOPPING



12.



Előnyös feltételű

SZALONNÁS FÉLSERTÉST

50-60 kg súlyú kutyákra kizárólag szerteszét eladó kutyákra

- 1. Szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor
- 2. Szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor
- 3. Szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor
- 4. Szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor

ÁRUFELTÉTEL:

- 1. Szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor
- 2. Szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor
- 3. Szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor
- 4. Szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor, szaloncukor

KOZERT NAGYBANI HÚSELŐZTŐ

CSAK
KÖZÜLETEK
RE
UNK

349. Sides of bacon now on sale in selected stores



350. The ice-man cometh!

351. Coal delivery



How Many Apartments and Household Appliances, and How Much Clothing Will Be Produced in 1958?

(...)

Companies controlled by the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry will increase their output for the domestic market by 15 per cent compared to last year. More household appliances will make 'the second shift' [housework] easier. First of all, washing machines: in 1958 130,000 of them will be manufactured, in five different models. In addition to automatic washing machines, there are plans to launch a manual machine with a load capacity of 4–8 kg, particularly well suited to life in the provinces, gentle on clothes and suitable for rental.

(...)

There will be no shortage of coffee-grinders either: five models will go on sale, with a production run of 60,000: a genuine novelty here is the Turkish coffee grinder, which grinds coffee to a fine powder.

The 48 cc 'Panni' is primarily intended for moped-riding young women. No rider need worry about mounting it, even in the most attractive two-piece suit: it can be ridden [as easily] as sitting in a chair... (...)

Nők Lapja, 2 January 1958

The Advantages of Self-Service Shops

The first self-service shop in the country opened in August 1955. (...)

Nowadays, the Ministry of Domestic Trade—quite correctly—makes the opening of new shops and, in many cases, even their renovation, conditional upon the introduction of a self-service system. This makes very good sense, because it is the only way of handling the increased volume of trade anticipated and of ensuring prompt customer service without having to take on additional sales staff. (...)

Initial results—given the novelty of the scheme—have fallen below expectations. (...)

Tibor Kovács

Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 12 February 1960



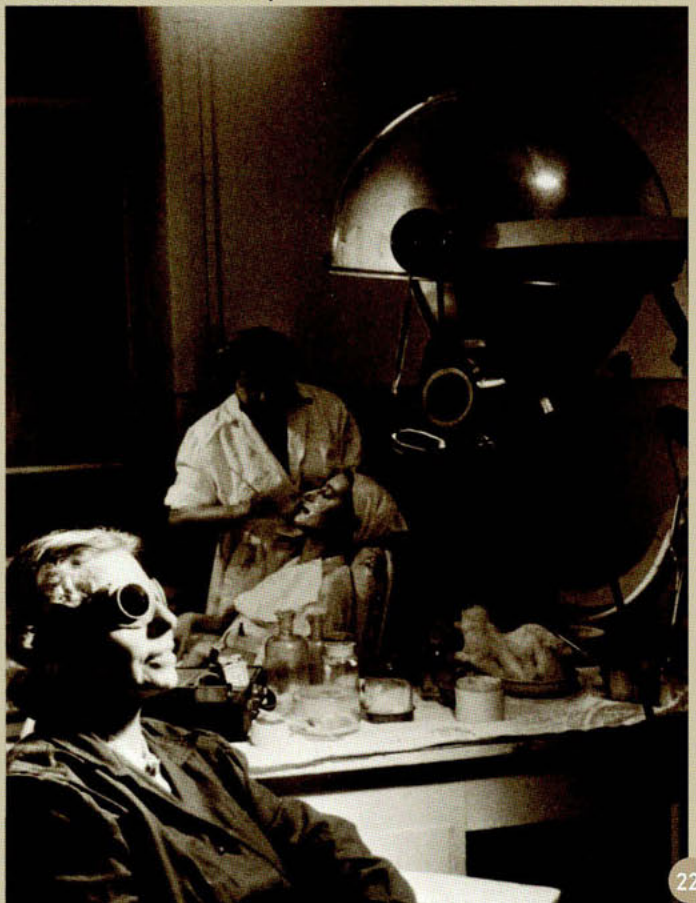
~ 352. Drawing the first week's lottery numbers



~ 353. Non-cash prize [text on board: It could be yours!]

354. Tereshkova hair-style ~

~ 355. Cosmetic service at a factory



New Lottery Jackpot

This has been a record year for the lottery, in terms not only of the constantly high number of lottery tickets sold, but of the repeated jackpots. This year, the first jackpot was won in March, Week 11; in Week 15 there were three; and in Week 18 there were two jackpot wins at the same time. In Week 19 Ferenc Török, a machine operator at the Óbuda Textile Dyeing Factory, was the only ticket-holder to hit the jackpot and scooped a record lottery win of 1,785,723 forints. This latest jackpot-winning ticket raises the number of 'jackpot winners' to eight this year and brings the number of such winners over the lottery's three-and-a-half year existence to nineteen.

Népszabadság, 31 July 1960

From 1 May Private Car Owners Will Be Able to Pay Cash for Gasoline at 20 to 25 Filling Stations

(...)

The Mineral Oil Trading Company commented, regarding the introduction of the new system, that all the preparations have been made to phase out gasoline vouchers. From 1 May, gasoline and every kind of oil used by private cars may be bought without vouchers, that is, for cash at 20 to 25 filling stations, primarily located along busy thoroughfares and highways, those with heavy weekend traffic. The cash payment scheme will gradually be extended in the course of the year to include 50 filling stations as they are converted to operate with modern pumps. It must be emphasized, however, that only privately owned cars will be covered by the scheme. (...)

The new scheme is expected to put an end to complaints from motorists concerning the complex and time-consuming acquisition of fuel vouchers. The ultimate aim is to enable private car owners to purchase unlimited quantities of fuel for cash everywhere. (MTI)

Népszabadság, 16 April 1960



~ 356. Fashionable handbag and raincoat 357. Seamless nylon stockings



The Women's Clothing Factory has begun the mass production of women's nylon winter overcoats; 1,800 of the new product will go on sale this month. Initially, the overcoat will be available in navy, gentian, and purple, and at a price of 1,300 forints.

Népszabadság, 23 September 1959



358. Golden Sunday ~

Golden Sunday Tour of Budapest

(...) The Lottó Department Store sold merchandise worth 640,000 forints, including, among other things, 21 radio hi-fis, 30 coffee machines, and 5 TV sets. Of the 1,350,000 forint turnover of the Úttörő [Pioneer] Department Store 290,000 forints were accounted for by sales of children's clothing and 250,000 forints by toys. The Corvin Department Store took in 3,200,000 forints compared to 2,500,000 forints last year. Sports and toy shops realized sales of more than 900,000 forints, musical instrument shops 231,000, and shops selling cultural items 2,800,000 forints. Watch and jewelry shops made 1,400,000 forints. [In the Christmas rush] items sold included 200 cameras, 500 watches, and 450 wedding rings, as well as hundreds of radio and TV sets, hi-fis, washing machines, and Swedish electric refrigerators.

*Imre Kapalyag
Népszabadság, 23 December 1958*

Preview of Christmas Specials

The selection of consumer durables available this year clearly compares unfavorably with the Christmas choice of recent years. However, responsibility for this does not lie with retailers or wholesalers; the situation is a consequence of the fact that domestic producers exported a greater volume of their production than previously and were sometimes unable to deliver their domestic sales targets due to import restrictions. (...)

There was a shortage of color TV sets, although several black-and-white models are currently available. Lehel refrigerators have fallen short of demand in terms of both choice and volume, and—as everywhere in the county—Soviet and Yugoslav makes are available instead. (...)

There is one delivery of color televisions a week, but of no more than 2–3 sets, and these are always the more expensive models. The supply of black-and-white TV sets has remained constant: currently, four different models are in stock. As far as electronics goods are concerned, the most easily available are mono tape recorders and radios, primarily Hungarian brands.

Hajdú-Bihari Napló, 20 December 1983

Summer Essentials:

Men's short-sleeve porous shirts, Apache-style, in white, cream, and powder-blue for 80-105 forints;
 'Parisiana' men's striped shirts for 112-125 forints;
 Women's Goldsol petticoats in pink, yellow, and blue—pleasant summer wear for 65-82 forints;
 Women's Goldsol nightdresses in several styles and with a sophisticated finish for 130-170 forints;
 Women's swimming costumes made of satin, calico, satin crepe, and piqué for 90-220 forints;
 Children's paddlers made of calico, chiffon, and piqué for 28-51 forints;
 Women's 'pedal pushers' made of linen, piqué, and balloon cloth for 77-200 forints;
 Women's and teenage girls' shorts made of linen, balloon cloth, and piqué for 38-85 forints;
 Boy's cotton mesh short-sleeve shirts for 15-25 forints;
 Men's cotton mesh short-sleeve shirts for 38-40 forints;
 Girls' *charmeuse* panties for 13.20-24 forints;
 Girls' *charmeuse* petticoat 18-45 forints;
 Women's *charmeuse* panties for 28.50-48 forints;
 Women's *charmeuse* petticoats for 61-95 forints;
 Women's *charmeuse* nightdresses for 120-180 forints;
 Men's rayon shirts for 65-81 forints;
 Women's nylon panties for 51-68 forints;
 Women's nylon petticoats for 110-200 forints;
 Women's nylon nightdresses for 220-295 forints;
 Men's tasslon (nylon) short-sleeve shirts for 112-135 forints.

Népszabadság, 7 June 1961



360. Lelle furniture set ~

359. End-of-season sale [text on board: Imitation leather coats reduced from 550 to 385 forints] ~





• 361. Washing machines for rent

362. Street pretzel seller •



• 363. Gift box of Western toiletries



Ultra-heat-treated Milk Now on Sale

From today, a new dairy product, ultra-heat-treated milk, will go on sale in Budapest. The milk, processed under sterile conditions using the latest technology and packaged in one-liter cartons, will be available in food stores in the busiest central locations. Ultra-heat-treated milk, processed using Swedish machinery and packaged with materials also imported from capitalist countries, will cost 9 forints [per liter]. It will last for up to six weeks without refrigeration at room temperature.

Népszabadság, 1 November 1977

What Is Good? What Is Bad?

(...) Experts are well aware that, under the previous regime, the Carpet Factory in Tata was more than able to meet demand. Since then, the same factory has multiplied its previous output many times over, and still there is a constant shortage. This means, of course, that more people are buying carpets than ever before, proving that living standards have gone up. At the same time, it shows that our interior design industry has lost touch with the rate of new housing construction projects and the general improvement in living standards. We found that the busiest department was ready-made clothing. There was not a single complaint to be heard anywhere: polite sales staff were able to show customers the right quality suits and garments in the right colors at the first request.

— One really cannot complain about the ready-made clothing industry. It is our firm belief that the Hungarian ready-made clothing industry is a world leader and that we can easily compete with the products of any Western European country. It is especially to be commended for daringly following the latest fashion trends for women, producing limited editions of garments of various cuts, guaranteeing that the women of Pest need not fear coming face to face with 'themselves' in the street. (...)

*József Sólyom
Magyar Ifjúság, 11 July 1959*

Fewer Calories, More Proteins and Vitamins

A food retailers' initiative

We eat too much and spend too much on food—this was one of the main conclusions of a day-long symposium held by the Ministry of Domestic Trade on Friday at the Conference Hall of KPVDSZ for managers of food wholesalers and retailers. And the problem is not just that we eat too much: what we eat no longer corresponds to the biological, health, and physiological requirements of the modern age. Our diet is overloaded with calories, fats, and carbohydrates. (...)

It is unlikely that overconsumption of fats in Hungary will diminish in the foreseeable future. What we must do—primarily through sensible advertising and offering choice of high-quality goods—is to increase the consumption of cooking oil by at least 50-55 per cent (and that of margarine by 15-20 per cent) at the expense of fats over a five-year period. (...)

Népszabadság, 29 February 1971

Apple Soap Is the New Thing

A bar of apple-scented soap costs between 40 and 80 forints on the black market. We [Hungarians] can manufacture soap ourselves, and we have apples aplenty—what is more, many different tasty and fragrant varieties... So why is there no Hungarian apple soap? (...)

— With soap you pay for the fragrance!—continues the explanation.—But what the layman cannot even fathom is that some fragrances have nothing to do with their actual natural namesakes. Similarly, the fragrance of apple soap is not derived from apples, it is only reminiscent of it. In fact, it is synthetic. (...)

... [Hungary] will start manufacturing [apple soap] in the New Year. The fragrance will be bought with [US] dollars, however, which will limit our capacity.

*Judit Cs. Benkő
Esti Hírlap, 14 December 1979*



~ 364. Crepe-nylon petticoat in a new cut

365. Head of a luxury salon and her models ~



Meditation—on Everyday Topics

Prices: some make us happy and some make us angry, but this time that is not my point. I have deliberately struck up conversations with a wide range of people in order to get their views on the new pricing mechanism; on the basis of these [conversations], it seems clear that the public has been successfully persuaded to accept the importance of price regulation. (...) Some inquired why at the Csepel Restaurant the price of fish soup had gone up from 13.40 to 20 forints, while the reduction in the cost of chicken had had no effect on prices whatsoever. (...)

It is entirely correct and fair in human terms—not to mention expedient for the building of socialism—that under the new circumstances more value is attached to money (or, to be more precise, to human labor which is what money expresses), and generally speaking it is also true that those who contribute most to society make more money: the most outstanding workers, engineers, and so on. But! We will have to continue to emphasize very strongly that the kind of thinking which values people more or less depending on how much money they have, how they live, and what possessions they have is absolutely alien to our society. We make our judgments, praise or condemn someone, always in terms of the whole person—all his essential human qualities, the entirety of his thinking, behavior, and attitude to society—and not by measuring the size of his monthly income, or even by whether he works on a turning lathe, or is a managing director or a pop singer. (...)

Csepel, 1 January 1968

Expensive gadget, limited broadcasting time

Color Televisions a Slow Seller So Far

(From our correspondent)

The Hungarian-made 'Videocolor' color television has been on sale for two months now, but public and private purchases total only 13 sets so far in a capital city with a population of 2 million. The explanation: high cost and limited broadcasting time. (...)

Buyers who know what range of reception signals they need can purchase the TV set in one of four KERAVILL stores in Budapest or in RAVILL's 'Echo Salon'—for 32,000 forints.

Népszabadság, 13 August 1971

Paradise Lost

The Quality Lingerie Factory showed a tasteful and, most importantly, not too extravagantly priced collection of nightdresses and petticoats. (...)

When it was time for the petticoat show to begin, the organizers politely invited male members of the audience to leave. Male photo journalists who had whetted their appetites for this event had to leave the auditorium with their tails between their legs.

Magyar Ifjúság, 2 March 1957

Citrus Fruit Season Due to Start Next Week

There were already some bananas on the market as early as October, but the Hungarian citrus fruit season will start in earnest with the arrival of oranges. This year the season will start next week, three weeks earlier than usual.

Délker Inc. will start making deliveries on Monday: the season will start with less expensive Cuban oranges and grapefruit—higher quality merchandise is due to arrive in December. Despite a significant increase in the world market price of lemons and raisins, the volume required to ensure reliable supplies has been secured by contract. This will guarantee not only a quantitative increase compared to last year but will lead to greater choice, as this year small amounts of dates, figs, and even Cuban coconuts and pineapples will be offered once again. (...)

Népszabadság, 11 November 1972

Supplies in the Provinces: Achievements and Difficulties

(...) For the time being it is inconceivable that a state-run retail network could be developed in counties with many small villages. The standard of supplies for smaller settlements therefore depends on how good a job ÁFÉSZ is able to do. (...) And shops have no shortage of basic commodities. As far as the sale of industrial merchandise is concerned, which requires larger storage areas and skilled sales staff, it is carried out by the ABC stores in every district. (...) In some districts of Transdanubia, where state- and co-operative-run trade is on the rise, results are encouraging. On the other hand, supplies for Alföld villages and farms still leave a great deal to be desired. Trade departments of county administrations have hardly any understanding of the situation of villages and scattered farms with regard to trade.

Szabad Föld, 23 February 1975

~ 366. Christmas shopper



~ 367. Bananas have arrived!

368. 'Piglet for sale!'





- ~ 369. 'Private business is booming.' [texts on signs advertise a private sexologist and an electrician, respectively.]
- ~ 370. Coca-Cola in Hungary



Where is the Sex Wave Heading?

'Is your conscience clear? You too have helped to encourage our young people to trample on morality, since all one hears about [these days] is sex education for children... We live in a filthier world than ever before, just take a look around...—and so on. Signed 'Father of five.' (...)

This outraged father is clearly lumping together socialist and Western countries, whereas there is a whole world of difference between them. (...)

[They] admit that, in the absence of constructive goals and life-styles, sexual excesses have assumed alarming proportions in their countries. Let's face it, not everything is as it should be with us either, as we have said on countless occasions—but there can be no talk of a 'filthy world' in relation to our neck of the woods.

István Gyenes
Nők Lapja, 10 May 1969

Margit Island Is Preparing for the Spring

(...)

At the bottling plant of the Budapest Mineral and Soda Water Works, output has already reached the levels of the hottest summer days. (...)

Will there be any new products?

In addition to the original orange-flavored Bambi [drink], we will also make a lemon-flavored variety, one with a tea concentrate, and a malt Bambi with vanilla flavoring. (...)

Angyalföld, 4 April 1957

Chewing Gum

Chewing gum—whether it is presented in yellow or green wrapping paper—can have a decisive impact on the spiritual development of a teenager, and it is ideally suited to transforming a hesitant youngster into a sharp 'Hello-Boy'. (...) To become a real 'chewing-gum champion' one must first possess a certain inborn, half-awake slothfulness. An unmistakable sign of engrossed spiritual rumination is an oafish deportment and a dumb stare. Gum chewing does not look good in a youngster with an intelligent expression, and however hard he may try to look stupid, it simply won't work. In our capital city, members of whose younger generation call one another a jerk with commendable zeal, there is only a very small percentage of congenital morons. There is a fair number of them in some parts of the world, but our soil and climate do not favor the evolution of such specimens; on the contrary, the typical Pest kid starts at a very early age with the assumption, 'I'm not a jerk'.

Kisjó
Esti Hírlap, 27 May 1959

Classified Ad

Pepsi Cola thanks its customers for their warm reception!

The interest in Pepsi Cola is so great that our current capacity is unfortunately unable to satisfy all the requirements of our customers.

Let us assure you, however, that we are doing everything in our power to ensure that we will continuously be able to satisfy the steadily growing demand.

In the meantime, we thank our customers for their kind patience.

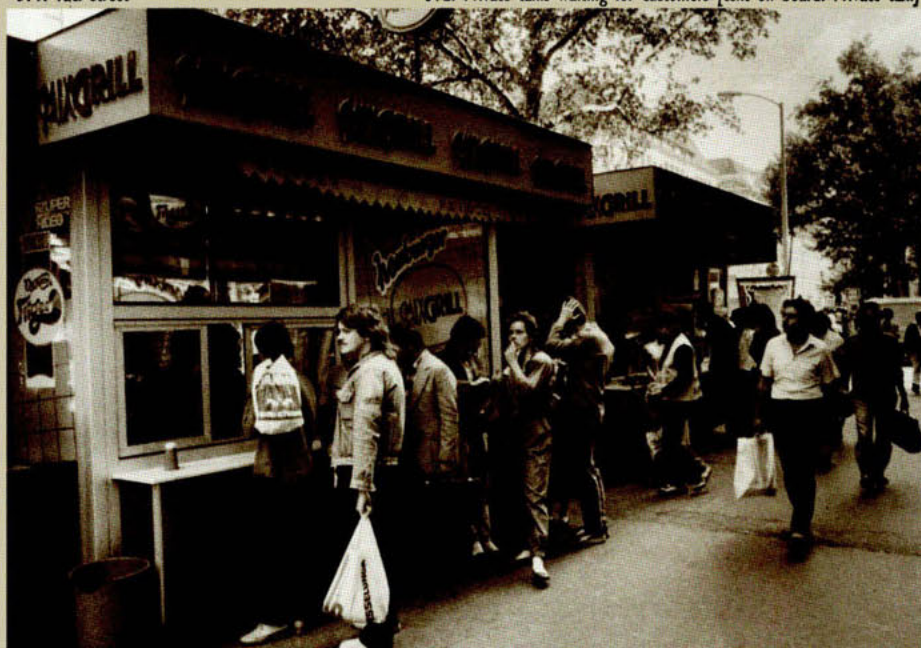
Esti Hírlap, 7 April 1970





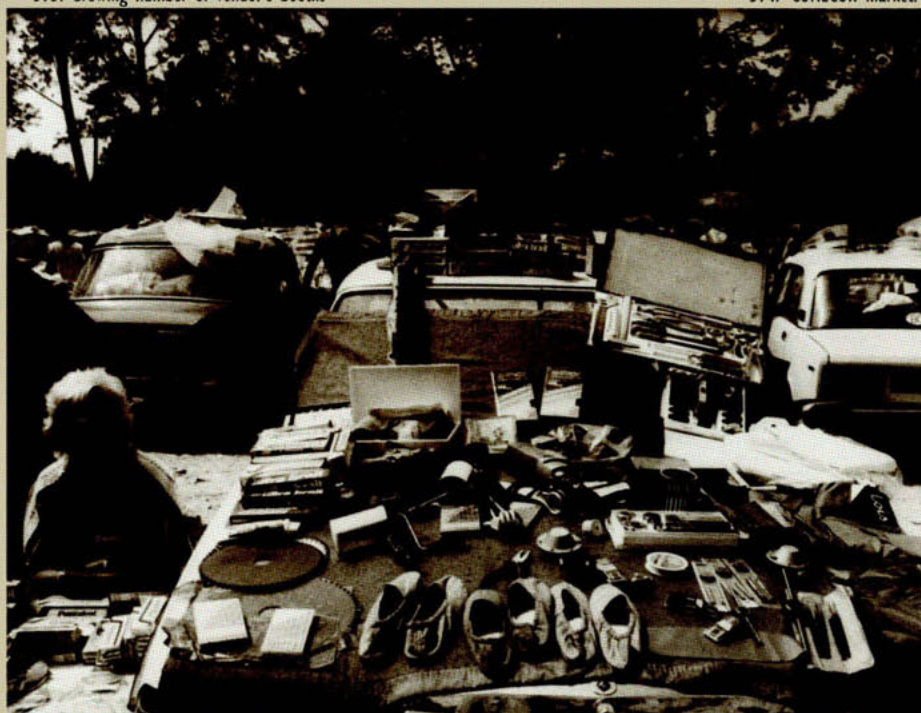
371. Váci Street

372. Private taxis waiting for customers [text on board: Private taxi] ~



~ 373. Growing number of vendor's booths

374. 'COMECON market.' ~



The First Zhiguli [Cars] Will Arrive Next Week

Allocation of cars will start on 24 May in Budapest and on 1 June in Debrecen

(...) Based on what they have seen—manufacturing technology, advanced machinery, the equipment used, and so on—Hungarian experts think that Zhiguli cars are guaranteed to win the confidence of Hungarian buyers. Under the terms of the negotiated agreement, the first consignment of Zhiguli cars has already left the factory and is expected to reach Hungary next week. (...)

... by 7 May Merkur had received a total of 16,000 applications for an upgrade and 9,500 new orders for Zhiguli cars. The delivery schedule stipulated by the agreement should make it possible to satisfy the applications of all buyers within 14–16 months, but at the latest by the end of next year.

Népszabadság, 14 May 1971

Car—1976

There are more than 160,000 applicants on waiting lists for new cars, and their number is growing every day. (...)

— The plan is to import approximately 450,000 cars in the course of the fifth five-year plan. In 1976 and 1977, however, we will be able to import 10,000–15,000 less than in previous years. In the new year, therefore, we anticipate the arrival of approximately 70,000–75,000 cars. (...)

— We are not importing any cars from capitalist countries: we continue to buy from socialist countries. What is more, even Moskvich is off-limits for the time being. There are, however, uninterrupted supplies of Zhiguli and Zaporozhets from the Soviet Union, Trabant and Wartburg from the GDR, Skoda from Czechoslovakia, Dacia from Romania, and Polski Fiat from Poland. Two new models are available: one is the long-awaited small Polski Fiat 126, the other is the new 1,300cc Zhiguli. (...)

— Waiting periods vary. We had to stop accepting subscriptions for Trabants and Wartburgs—the waiting period for these makes is 4–5 years, while for other makes the average is 1–1.5 years. For Zhiguli and Dacia we can accept payments only for 1977 deliveries. At the same time, we can still confirm Skoda 100s with 6–7 months delivery. (...)

Szabad Föld, 11 January 1976

Saddled with Problems

For a few days now we have been paying 20 per cent more, on average, for bread and flour products; for several weeks we have been paying a lot more for coffee; the prices of cocoa and chocolate have gone up; and long-distance travel by train and bus will cost 100 and 120 per cent more respectively from 1 September. What is more, an announcement has already been made that, from the beginning of next year, several travel fare discounts will be reduced or withdrawn. It is also known that citrus fruit will become more expensive and higher apartment rents will be introduced in 1983. None of this is good news. (...)

Yet, one might ask, what is the decisive consideration which, despite anxious speculations by families and individuals, continues to operate in the subconscious and, in all probability, makes a major contribution to helping people in this country come to terms with the deterioration in living standards due to price increases? First and foremost, it is the feeling that we live in a society which has the united will to endure and eventually to overcome these hardships. (...)

Jenő Szántó

Népszabadság, 14 August 1982



~ 375. Modular wardrobe set: Made in GDR

376. Pierre Cardin opens a store in Budapest ~



~ 377. The first McDonald's opens in Hungary



Mass Production of Modular Furniture Has Commenced

(...)

— A few days ago the production of modular furniture commenced. The first sets will be in the shops as early as April.

We manufacture ten different types of furniture: two- and three-door wardrobes, chests of drawers, sideboards, and various smaller cabinets. We are about to start to manufacture storage cupboards for bedding. Our mahogany finished furniture may be assembled in various combinations when furnishing an apartment. Individual furniture modules may be placed side by side or on top of one another, so that they can fit into tight spaces. Some modules in this set are manufactured by other plants.

The Újpest Woodwork Factory, too, has recently started to manufacture modular furniture. What does this plant offer for new households after the end of the three-year plan?

— 1,400 sets of modular furniture, 4,000 double sofas, and 6,400 three-door Harmonia wardrobes, among other things—we are informed. In the spring, modular furniture manufactured here will also be available in the stores.

This modular set consists of five pieces. Their product range includes walnut and mahogany two-door wardrobes, sideboards, furniture modules, dining tables, and coffee tables. Matching accessory furniture will also be available in the stores.

AT.

Esti Hírlap, 21 February 1960

Slim-fit Men's Shirts by Popular Demand

This year's fashion hit is FÉKON-FIX. Our company was inspired to manufacture this slim-fit shirt by a public opinion poll published in *Youth Magazine*. The latest models are already available in Aranypók specialty stores. (...) The wide choice displayed in shop windows is inviting, and sales staff provide a friendly service and even ask customers for their opinion on FÉKON shirts. (...)

Slim-fitting FÉKON-FIX shirts satisfy a long-standing desire of young people ...

Ifjúsági Magazin, August 1970

The COMECON Fashion Congress Is Over

After a week of symposia, the meeting of the Working Committee on Dress Culture of the COMECON Standing Committee on Light Industry, which was being held in Budapest, ended on Monday with a plenary meeting at which fashion designers and representatives of the fashion industry from seven countries—Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, GDR, Romania, the Soviet Union, and the host, Hungary—exchanged views. Delegates from the participating countries demonstrated their 1970 fashion collections and textile samples, and exchanged brochures.

The professionals who participated in the meeting of the Working Committee visited a number of plants on Monday, including the '1 May' Clothing Factory, the 'Red October' Men's Clothing Factory, the National Worsted Spinning and Weaving Factory, the 'Hungaria Jacquard' Factory of the Hungarian Silk Company, the 'Danube' Shoe Factory, the Rákospalota Leather and Plastics Processing Company, and the Fashion Design Factory, among others.

Népszabadság, 18 February 1969

Lion-taming

It was very hot last Sunday. In Budapest the Lukács Baths were crowded. There was a long queue outside the refreshment stand.

— Give me a beer and an orange drink ... give me a beer, a sandwich and a soda water ...

The man at the counter got fed up.

— I haven't got any soda, he said, not even bothering to lift his hand from the still dripping nozzle of the soda-dispensing machine.

— Then give me an orange drink—without the orange, the customer said. The man at the counter nodded. He passed a glass of soda to the customer, kept the price of an orange drink, and smiled like a lion-tamer after a successful show.

(r.)

Szabad Föld, 11 September 1977



• 378. At a stall at Lake Balaton

379–380. No visa is required to travel to Austria [text on board: Hungarians! Feel at home. Inexpensive drinks] •

Quality Pubs—Instead of Dives

(...)

— We intend to transform drinking into a quality pastime. To achieve this we are going to transform old pubs with a bad reputation so that they rid themselves of customers whose solitary aim is to get drunk in record time. Since 1976 we have opened five regular bars and four milk bars. We have transformed the largest pub in Angyalföld, despite the fact that its turnover had fallen to 2–3 million forints from 8 million forints in the previous year. At all these new facilities we are encouraging the serving of meals. We are raising the awareness of pub managers and waiters of the desirability of recommending meals to their customers. (...)

Angyalföld, March 1980

Skála About to Open

— The new department store is ready. It was completed in an incredibly short time. It is the first new department store to be built in Budapest since the war, after the reconstruction of the Corvin [Department Store]. For the time being, it will remain the biggest in Hungary. (...)

Twenty thousand square meters for Budapest. Primarily for South Buda, in the future heart of Budapest.

(...) in Óbuda we are building a shopping center of over 17,000 square meters and in Örs Vezér Square one of over 28,000 square meters. Only Skála is a department store: the product of the joint efforts of a number of co-operatives. (...)

There are only a few days to go before Skála opens. The department store is the biggest in the country. In all likelihood, that will not be the case thirty years hence. Budapest already needs another large department store.

Ferenc Szőlősi

Esti Hírlap, 29 March 1976



Customs, Foreign Exchange, and Other Useful Information for the Summer

Interview with the National Commander-in-Chief of the Customs Guard

(...)

— Let's begin with foreign travel. It has become established practice—and will remain so—that tourist passport-holders traveling to countries with currencies tied to the ruble can apply for foreign currency equivalent to 10,000 forints per annum, which they receive partly in cheque-form and partly in banknotes in the amount of 400 forints for every day to be spent in the destination country. (...)

Tourist passport-holders traveling to countries with currencies not tied to the ruble can buy foreign currency worth only 5,000 forints—on the basis of a previously obtained permit—from 1 June each year. They can acquire foreign currency on top of the tourist allotment in an amount equivalent to 1,700 forints subject to a stamp-duty of 10 + 30 per cent, which amounts to 75 dollars. (...)

— All Hungarian citizens may carry and take abroad without a permit the currencies of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the GDR, Romania, and the Soviet Union in an amount equivalent to 400 forints, and those of all other countries in an amount equivalent to 200 forints. However, they may be required to verify the origin of their currency when abroad. (...)

Gyula Fejér

Népszabadság, 7 June 1980

No Reduction in the Number of Passport Applications

Nowadays, district police stations usually have to deal with large crowds as a result of the increased public interest in the world passport valid from 1 January. In anticipation of an increased volume of applications, a series of measures has been taken to ensure uninterrupted customer service. Nevertheless, the manifold increase in demand is a trying experience for people on both sides of the counter. Applicants waiting for new passports continue to storm district police stations, particularly in Budapest and Győr: the reasons for this are virtually impossible to discover. It is hard to believe that, all of a sudden, hundreds of thousands of people feel the urge to travel during the harsh winter months. And those who do not intend to travel until later in the year have no need to join the queue now. (...)

In a word: foreign travel is a basic citizen's right under the statutory decree of the Council of Ministers. (...)

Népszabadság, 18 January 1988

380. Hungarian shoppers in Vienna



'Color Star' TV Sets to Be Checked

(...) The Director of the Hungarian Electronics Standards Institute noted that, over the last 14 months, fires had been caused by TV sets on 56 occasions, no fewer than 32 of which involved 'Color Star' sets. At the same time, with sensible use Color Star TVs do not pose a risk either. (...)

Népszabadság, 5 January 1987

BEFORE THE TRANSITION



13.



The history of political pluralism

(...)

It is obvious that political pluralism has lost its *raison d'être* in Hungary and that it has outlived its usefulness once and for all. In our nation, the interests of the working class and of the whole working nation are represented by the Marxist-Leninist Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party alone. The Hungarian working nation follows [the leadership of] this Party. (...)

Géza Karsai

Népszabadság, 4 November 1958



381. Protest demonstration against the Nagymaros Dam

János Berecz: Lessons of a Debate

Report of the editorial committee

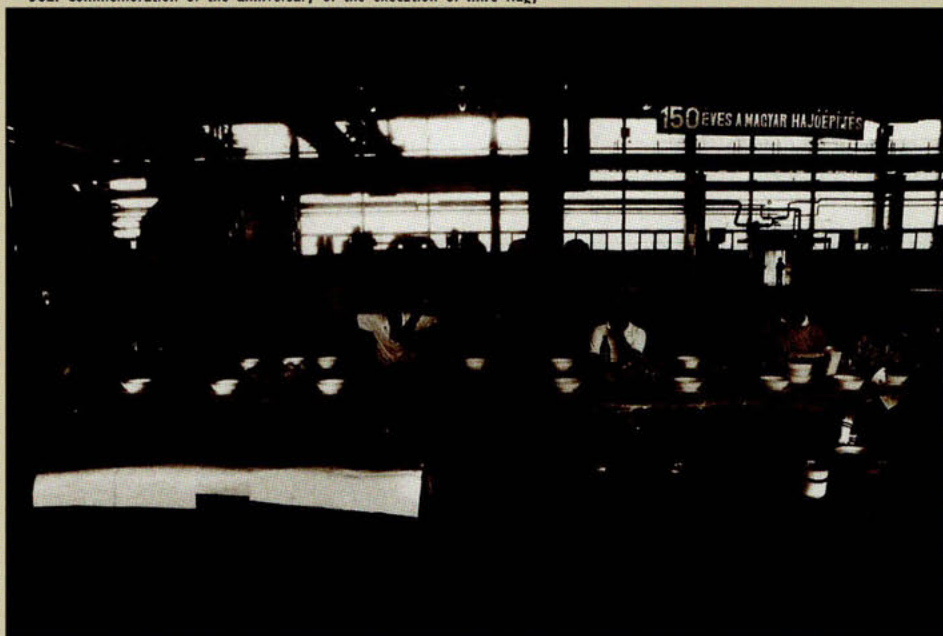
(...)

The restructuring of the political establishment has now become a task which cannot be delayed. The executive political power mechanism must be altered by reforms. The path towards transformation is the establishment of a political system with a number of decision-making centers resting on a division of labor enshrined in legislation and based on the Party's leadership. (...)

Pártélet, June 1988



382. Commemoration of the anniversary of the execution of Imre Nagy



383. Last Supper [text on board: Hungarian shipbuilding is 150 years old]



384. 15 March 1989 [text on banner: 1945–1989. That's enough. (We've had enough.) FIDESZ–SZDSZ]

'... I Have Great Faith in This Program'

(...) How many people these days challenge the Party's leadership and demand pluralism when it should be clear to them that the Party's leadership is an objective necessity in our country. I don't mean that the Party should govern by *diktat* as in the 1950s. But it should motivate people to action; its policies must encourage creativity and the development of every individual's abilities. Now we have this program! It is a very good thing, capable of uniting every communist and individual who cares for the country. If only people believed us! But do they still believe [us]? (...)

The views of Dr István Vajda, a pensioner from Pécs, set down by Jenő Faragó
Népszabadság, 12 September 1987

György Fejtő: Party, State and Citizen

(...) A number of discordant notes have been heard in the social debate. And attempts have been made to manipulate the proposed reform of the system of political institutions. In the opinion of some circles the Party—or the 'authorities' as they like to call it—refuses to keep within reasonable boundaries and will not surrender anything unless it is taken away by force.

Therefore—their advice goes—the Party must be kept under constant pressure and must be squeezed out of as many areas as possible. (...)

We do not object to a socialist-type political pluralism. However, that is not on the agenda in Hungary today. We hold the one-party system to be a fact of political reality, and we are seeking ways in which we may further develop the system of political institutions within that framework. (...)

Pártélet, March 1988

Classified Ad

'Jenő', a one-year-old parakeet, has escaped from his pleasant home at 17 Ady Endre Street in Rózsadomb, the apartment of the widow of Imre Újvári, our late colleague. He was pampered, loved, and allowed to fly freely inside the apartment. 'Jenő' has now interpreted this license too freely, and for three days now the family has been submerged in sadness. We appeal to anyone who may find him to return him [to his owners].

Magyar Nemzet, 8 December 1981

Those Who Have Left the Party

(...) It would be easy to conclude that national problems are weighing down on Party members, and that this is why a number of them have now declared that they no longer wish to be directly involved in this process. But that is only part of the truth, because the community holds ordinary Party members, too, responsible for the developments now taking place. One even hears such remarks as: 'You have already done enough damage; how much longer do you want to carry on like this?' (...)

There were some who commented on the [Party] membership fee: 'Why should I have to pay for keeping my principles?' (...)

Most have completely lost faith—many of them are young people barely more than thirty years old. They do not believe that the Party will be able to carry the reforms through, and they are saying that hardly anything has been done since the national Party Congress.

Dr Katalin Karádi
Hajdú-Bihar Napló, 10 December 1988

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PHOTO CREDITS • NOTES ON THE PHOTOGRAPHS

The names of the photographers are set in bold type. Where no name is given, the photographer is unknown. We have tried to reproduce the photographers' own titles insofar as they exist. The original captions of photographs supplied by the Photographic Service of the Hungarian News Agency [MTI] are set in italics. Photos with no place name specified were taken in Budapest.

1. AFTER THE REVOLUTION

1. Soviet tanks outside the National Theater. 26 November 1956.
2. Street in Pest in November 1956.
3. Rubble and waste are rapidly being cleared from Rákóczi Street. 3 January 1957. **Tamás Fényes**
4. Food being brought to the capital city from the provinces. 26 November 1956. [Text on board: Food].
5. Casual vendors in Blaha Lujza Square, under the clock of the National Theater. November 1956.
6. So often criticized and so much missed, but nevertheless thoroughly enjoyable, Hungarian cigarette brands "Kossuth," "Terv [Plan]," "Mátro," and others are once more available in the kiosks. 2 November 1957.
7. Shoeless salesman in the Inner City of Pest. November 1956. **Iren Ács** [Text on wall: Strike = poverty and hunger. Is that what you want?]
8. Permanent Workers' Council Election at the Ganz Shipyard. 4 December 1956. **Tamás Fényes**
9. The vice unit of the Budapest Police Crime Squad carried out a series of spot raids for reasons of public security in parts of Districts VI, VII, and VIII. 1 February 1957.
10. **Ferenc Vigovszky**
On Thursday afternoon three hundred Hungarians returned from Yugoslavia. The arriving train. Kelebia, 14 February 1957. **Jenő Papp**
11. Wreath-laying ceremony at the statue of Petőfi in honor of the heroes of the War of Independence of 1848–49. In the background, the ruins of Erzsébet Bridge blasted during World War II. 15 March 1957. **Ferenc Vigovszky**
12. Bible class at the Primary School for Boys at 43 Rottenbiller Street. 7 February 1957. **Mária Lónyai**
13. Ongoing hearing of the criminal case of Ilona Tóth and her accomplices at the Municipal Court. Confrontation of Ilona Tóth and Gyula Obersovszky. 4 March 1957. **Tamás Fényes**
14. Graves of the Corvin Street fighters in the park at the end of Práter Street. November 1956. **László Zalay**
15. On 12 February the Budapest Summary Court read its verdict in the criminal case of the Pomáz weapon hoarders. The court sentenced to death Zsigmond Bóna, András Rudos, Géza Héder, Sándor Katona, and János Szutter, and acquitted János Vadász. 12 February 1957. **Ferenc Vigovszky**
16. A day at the Municipal Court. Reading of the verdict in the case of István Eörsi and his accomplices. István Eörsi and István Anyal are standing to the right of the prison guard, on the right: Ilona Tóth. 23 May 1957. **Ferenc Vigovszky**
17. The accused in the Imre Nagy case during the reading of the verdict. First row from left (in civilian clothes): Imre Nagy, Ferenc Donáth, and Miklós Gimes.

Second row: Pál Maléter and Sándor Kopácsy. Third row: Miklós Vászárhy. 16 June 1958. 16. Still from a contemporary film.

2. JÁNOS KÁDÁR

1. **First among the ordinary people**
János Kádár at a Constitution Day celebration in Nagyecsed, Szabolcs County. 1957. **Jenő Papp**
19. 9th Miners' Day Celebrations in Salgótarján. 30,000 people were present at the ceremonial general assembly to listen to János Kádár, First Secretary of the MSZMP. 6 September 1957. **Sándor Mező**
20. Fifth day of the 9th Congress of the MSZMP held at the Rózsa Ferenc Construction Workers' Culture House. 6 December 1966. **Jenő Papp**
21. János Kádár, First Secretary of the MSZMP, visited the Székesfehérvár Electronics, Television, and Radio Factory on Wednesday morning. 9 August 1967. **Ferenc Vigovszky**
22. János Kádár with workers of the Pusztaszabolcs co-operative on his visit to Fejér County. June 1960. **Pál Szilágyi**
23. János Kádár on a factory visit in Csepel. 1 December 1961. **Iren Ács**
24. János Kádár and Mrs Kádár at Ferihegy [Budapest] Airport after seeing off Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. This was Brezhnev's last visit to Budapest. 30 May 1979. **László P. Balogh**
25. János Kádár, returning from Berlin, being greeted by Mrs Kádár at the Eastern Railway Terminal. At the front, Károly Németh. Behind them, György Aczél and Miklós Óvári. Further back, Mihály Korom and Árpád Pullai. 1 December 1983. **Ferenc Rédei**
26. János Kádár in Tihany, 1971.
27. The Soviet Party and government delegation has left Budapest. L.I. Brezhnev and members of the delegation were seen off at Ferihegy Airport by János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, and members of the Politburo, the Presidium, and the [Hungarian] Government. 1 June 1979. **Gábor Pálfi**
28. Visit of a Hungarian Party and government delegation to the German Democratic Republic. Fishermen's Festival at the Culture House of the Fish Processing Works. Rostock, 19 June 1966. **Ferenc Vigovszky**
29. János Kádár being received by Mikhail Gorbachev at the Kremlin during his visit to Moscow. Moscow, 25 September 1985. **Gábor Pálfi**
30. János Kádár says goodbye to Alexander Dubček, First Secretary of the CSKP [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], Komomo, 4 February 1968. **Ferenc Vigovszky**
31. Arrival of a Soviet Party and government delegation at Ferihegy Airport. Ny. S. Khrushchev greets János Kádár. 2 April 1958. TASS. **D. Baltermanc**
32. Antonin Novotny (First Secretary of the CSKP and President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia) greets Comrade János Kádár, Head of the Hungarian Party and government delegation on a friendly visit to Czechoslovakia. 10 October 1967. MTI Foreign Photo Service
33. János Kádár and Josip Broz Tito on a hunt. Karageorgevo, 1963. **Ferenc Vigovszky**
34. The summit meeting of the leaders of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries was held on 31 July in the Crimea. Participants in the summit included (left to right): Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic; Nicolae Ceaușescu, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party; János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party; Gustav Husák, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the East German Socialist Unity Party; Yamzhagay Cedenbal, President of the Council of Ministers of the Peoples' Republic of Mongolia; and Andrei Gromyko, Foreign Minister and member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Far right: Boris N. Ponomarev; back: Konstantin F. Katushev—both Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Simferopol, 1973. MTI Foreign Photo Service-TASS
35. János Kádár visiting the Csillebérc Pioneer Town, 1966. **Andor Tormai**
36. János Kádár traveling on tram line No. 2 during his sightseeing tour of Budapest. March 1982. **István Tóth**
37. János Kádár surveying the pheasants bagged at the hunt. Soponya, 1981. **Dr János Zoltán**
38. János Kádár at an election rally in Csepel. 1984. **Gábor Fejér**
39. Pál Losonczi, János Kádár, and György Lázár greeting the marchers from the tribune. 1 May 1985. **Imre Benkő**
40. János Kádár listening to a question put to a Minister by [MP] Zoltán Király in Parliament. 1988. **László Grnák**
41. János Kádár and Károly Grósz in Parliament. 1988. **András Bánkúti**
42. János Kádár with Mrs Kádár during a break at the national conference of the MSZMP. 21 May 1988. **Attila Kovács**

3. COMRADES

3. Rally at Őzd. Speaker: György Marosán, Secretary of State, Secretary of the Budapest Executive Committee of the MSZMP. 19 March 1957. **László Mikó**
4. 'We shall defend the dictatorship of the proletariat'. Tens of thousands [of people] took part in heated workers' meetings of the Party in the capital city. Béla Biszku, member of the Executive Committee of the MSZMP and Minister of the Interior, delivered a speech in the 10th District. 29 March 1957. **45. Ferenc Münnich**, President of the Council of Ministers and Mrs Münnich at the Journalists' Ball at Café Hungaria. 8 February 1959. **Edit Molnár**
46. Dignitaries of the Catholic Church take a ceremonial oath to the Constitution of the People's Republic of Hungary in the presence of István Dobi, President of the Presidium. From left: István Dobi, József Grósz, Archbishop of Kalocsa; at the back: Dr Ferenc Rogács, Diocesan Bishop of Pécs. 24 April 1959. **Ferenc Bartal**
47. István Dobi in Parliament on [the announcement of] his retirement. By his side, Jenő Fock; behind him (from left) Sándor Gáspár, Béla Biszku and János Kádár. 14 April 1967. **Iren Ács**
48. Day One of the 1st National Conference of KISZ in Parliament. Zoltán Komácsin, Secretary of the KISZ Central Committee delivering his report. Behind him, Gyula Kállai and János Kádár. 25 October 1957. **Ferenc Vigovszky** [text on board: Loyalty to the people. Loyalty to the Party].
49. Visit by the Presidium of the

- National Council of the Patriotic National Front to the Őrhalma "Patriotic National Front" Co-operative. Ferenc Erdei inspecting an autumn-barley-field. Őrhalom, 26 May 1961. **Sándor Bojár**
 50. Dr Ferenc Münnich, President of the Council of Ministers, talking to delegates during a break at the delegate selection meeting of the Patriotic National Front in Fejér County. Székesfehérvár, 21 May 1960. **Ferenc Bereth**
 51. In the first row, György Aczél and Pál Losonczi; behind them, Sándor Gáspár and Jenő Fock; in the chamber of Parliament. 1988. **Gábor Bánkúti**
 - 52, 53, 54. Sándor Gáspár and György Aczél in a corridor of the Parliament building. 1988. **András Bánkúti**
 55. The daughter and granddaughter of Máté Zalka with Lajos Czinege, Minister of Defense, and János Borbándi, Head of Department of the Central Committee [of the MSZMP], at the Zalka Máté Military Technical High School in Budapest, on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue of Máté Zalka. 10 April 1971. **Tamás Székely**
 56. Parliament votes in favor of the appointment of Miklós Németh as Prime Minister. First row: Imre Pozsgay, Minister of State, and Brúnó F. Straub, President of the Presidium; behind them, Miklós Németh. 24 November 1988. **Zoltán Szalay**
 57. The journalists' section of the Communist Youth Organization was founded on 13 April. László Szabó, member of the editorial staff of Népszabadság and of the committee responsible for laying down the foundations of the journalists' section, delivering a report on the committee's activities. 14 April 1957. **Endre Friedmann**
- ### 4. THE PARTY CALLS
58. Meeting of the Action Group of the 14th District Executive Committee of the MSZMP. 29 May 1957. **Ferenc Vigovszky** [text on board: 'Be firm and victory shall be yours! (Lenin)']
 59. Júlia Nagy, Local Council President, outlines the future of the village. Pálótság, 18 March 1976. **Ferenc Németh** [text on board: Welcome to the participants of the Village Assembly!]
 60. Mérges has become a village with a co-operative. 63 families from the village have established the Búzakalász [Ear of Wheat] Co-operative on 1,463 acres. 31 January 1959. **Sándor Bojár** [text on sign: Village with an agricultural co-operative.]
 61. Gyöngyös, 1985. **Árpád Kiss Kuntler** [text on sign: Long live Marxism-Leninism, the invincible ideology of our age!]
 62. Tractors heading toward the county vehicle stations across the fields of Szolnok. 27 March 1959. **Ferenc Fehérvári** [text on sign: A gift from the working class to the agricultural co-operatives.]
 63. Demonstration by students of József Attila Grammar School, Budapest against neutron bomb testing. 1980. **Iren Ács** [text on board: No to the neutron bomb!]
 64. Dunaföldvár, 1970. **Zoltán Fejér** [text on wall: We condemn imperialism!]
 65. Demonstration by young people in Budapest outside the US Embassy protesting US aggression against Vietnam. 26 May 1967. **Tamás Fényes** [text on placards: Peace for Vietnam! Vietnam shall prevail! Down with Johnson!]

66. Rally of vocational school students in Salgótarján as part of the Revolutionary Youth Days. 1974. **Tamás Székely** [text on placards: People of Chile—we are with you! Imperialism = private ownership—exploitation—oppression—war. The revolutionary spirit of today = commitment to building socialism, better work, greater knowledge.]
 67. Commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the death of Zoltán Schönherz. Ensemble Gerilla singing a song about Zoltán Schönherz. 9 October 1967. **Andor Tormai**
 68. 3rd National Youth Guard Parade. Dunajváros, 1972. **Tamás Székely** [text on board: Our path and that of the Party and the people are one and the same.]
 69. 15 March celebrations in the gardens of the National Museum, 1974. **Endre Friedmann** [text on placard: The Youth of 1848 fought for it and the youth of today know how to make use of it!]
 70. On the morning of 15 March the National Council of the Patriotic Front and the Central Committee of the Hungarian Communist Youth Organization held a mass rally in the gardens of the National Museum as the opening Budapest event of the Revolutionary Youth Days commemorating the 127th Anniversary of the Civic Revolution and War of Independence. Fight of 1848. 1975. **Imre Benkő** [text on board: 'The dawn has arrived with a red face!']
 71. 1 May Day march in Budapest. 1980. **Iren Ács** [text on banner: The Party's policies express the interests of the working class and the whole working nation!]
 72. The brigades of the Landler Jenő Vehicle Repair Company repaired a railcar beyond the target laid down in the plan in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland. 3 April 1965. **László Kácsor** [text on sign: Manufactured beyond the targets laid down in the plan—for the 20th anniversary of the liberation of our homeland.]
 73. 20 August [Constitution Day] celebrations. 1988. **András Bánkúti** [text on board: Our people.]
 74. Water parade on the Danube on Constitution Day. 20 August 1976. **Imre Benkő** [text on signs: Forward!—the Pioneer movement is 39 years old—'All for one and one for all']
 75. 4 April march. 1975. **Imre Benkő** [Texts on some of the placards: We have been raised by the Party. Onward along the path of Lenin. Work, study, and discuss politics! Don't tolerate indifference! You can trust youth with unshakable faith! Forward together with the Soviet Union!]
 76. After the march. 1987. **Gábor Krista** [text on placard: We welcome the reform efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.]
- ### 5. MEETINGS
77. The MSZMP is having its 11th Congress at the Rózsa Ferenc Headquarters of the Construction Workers. 17 March 1975. **Jenő Papp** [text on board: Onward along the path of Lenin.]
 78. Delegates of the Szabolcs County party conference of the MSZMP take a vote. Nyíregyháza, 1975. **79. Mérges has become a village with an [agricultural] co-operative. 31 January 1959. Sándor Bojár**

80. Candidate selection meeting at the Hungarian Shipbuilding and Crane Factory. 21 May 1975.

Ferenc Vigovszky

[Text on board: Long live and prosper the Socialist People's Republic!]

81. The General Assembly of the Szigetszentmiklós plant of the Csepel Auto [Factory] joins the work competition. 2 January 1978. **József Fehér**

[text on sign: Every moment is precious: make better use of it!]

82. The National Secretariat of the Patriotic National Front plays host to the Heads of the Patriotic Front Committees of new co-operative villages in Győr County at the Patriotic Front's Headquarters. 18 February 1959. **Ferenc Vigovszky**

83. On Thursday, Hungarian newspapers published the speech delivered by Comrade Khrushchev to the Plenary Session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. In the Beloiannisz Telecommunications Factory socialist brigades examine the speech together. 13 December 1962.

Ferenc Vigovszky

[newspaper headline: The current international situation and the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.]

84. Thousands of Budapest workers protested at the rally of the Patriotic National Front against the murders of Lumumba and his companions-in-arms, and demanded that the perpetrators, including the General Secretary of the UN, be held responsible. 18 February 1961. **László Mikó**

85. Women's Assembly at the Metal Workers' Culture House in the 13th District in anticipation of International Women's Day. 5 March 1958.

Róbert Horling

86. Workers of the Törökszentmiklós Construction KTSZ discuss their community projects for 1961. 1 November 1961. **József Bajkó**

87. Offices of the Rákóczi Co-operative in Abasár. Around 1960. **László Rózsa**

[Text on flag: Production Drive Challenge Flag of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary. Outstanding co-operative.]

88. Youth cellar club in Erzsébetváros. 1980. **Tamás Székely**

89. In addition to the large number of special interest courses, there is also an amateur theater group at the Kispest KISZ Club. Rehearsal of the play 'Bástya sétány 77'. January 1960. **Klári Patkó**

90. Parliament and local elections in Budapest. Forty-one producers' co-operative workers from the provinces spending their holiday at the SZOT Recreation Center in Dániel Street going to vote en masse. 1963. **Endre Friedmann**

91. 5500 students have started work at KISZ Construction Camps. 600 high school students at the Rózsa Ferenc Construction Camp started work on construction projects under the auspices of the Danube Cement and Lime Works. 1961. MTI Photo. **Endre Friedmann**

92. Battanya celebrating the 30th anniversary of its liberation. 4 April 1975. **Iren Ács**

93. Swearing in of KISZ Youth at the statue of Lenin on the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary. 4 April 1969. **Ferenc Vigovszky**

94. Laying a wreath at the statue of Lenin at the entrance of the Csepel Works on 7 November 1963.

95. Producers' co-operative women at the May Day march in Budapest. 1960. **Endre Friedmann**

96. May Day march in the village of Noszvaj. 1959. **Ferenc Bereth**

97. Workers' Guard Review in Budapest. 30 March 1957. **Ferenc Vigovszky**

98. Awakening to music on 1 May. Ózd, 1989. **Imre Benkő**

99. Marchers on Dózsa György Street. 1 May 1970. **Miklós Rév**

100. Workers' Militia Review. 30 March 1957. **Jenő Papp**

101. Workers' Militia. Around 1970

102. Dress parade of border guards on 4 April 1960. **Ferenc Mikó**

103. Soldier with radio transmitter during a military exercise. 1960. MTI Interphoto

104. Border guards at the Austrian-Hungarian border. 1972. **Endre Friedmann**

105. Young people doing their 11-month military service before going on to university. Kiskőrös, 1965.

106. The mechanized rifle regiment of the Soviet Southern Army group, on temporary duty in Hungary and stationed near Kecskemét, provides a demonstration to the press. 1988. **Attila Kovács**

7. HEROES, ROLE MODELS, AND STARS

107. Welcoming ceremony for cosmonauts Bertalan Farkas and Béla Magyarai. 1982. **Iren Ács**

108. Meeting of veterans of the workers' movement. Salgótarján, around 1987. **Iren Ács**

109. Socialist brigade at the Ózd Metallurgical Works. 1972.

[Text on wall: 'Working, studying, and living the socialist way.']

110. The Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic held a reception in Parliament in honor of Yuri Gagarin. Major Gagarin dancing with Mrs János Kádár. 21 August 1961. **Sándor Bojár**

111. Veterans of the workers' movement and former soldiers of the Red Army who knew Lenin personally gather at the Central Officers' Club of the Hungarian People's Army. Sándor Varga, former Red Army soldier, talks about his meeting with Comrade Lenin. 18 April 1957.

112. László Kovács, a Kossuth-Award-winning coal miner, with his family. 1957. **Ferenc Vigovszky**

113. Ignác Pióker, the most noted Hungarian Stakhanovite and a Kossuth Award winner. 1986. **Imre Benkő**

114. Soviet veteran in Battanya, at the Victory Day celebrations. 9 May 1980. **Iren Ács**

115. The popular radio show, The Szabó Family, has reached its 100th episode. The family celebrated their jubilee with a glass of champagne at dinner in the company of the writers of the series. 1961. **Éva Keleti**

116. Hungarian Television announcers: Eszter Tamási, Mária Takács, József Varga, Judit Lénárt, Júlia Kudlik and Zsuzsa Lugossy. 1966. **Éva Keleti**

117. Filming the soap-opera Neighbors: Karola Csűrös, Ádám Horváth and János Kulka. 1987. **Szabolcs Hármor**

118. András Kern and Gábor Pintér: prize-winning parodists in the first Who Knows What? 1962. **Endre Friedmann**

119. The Gézengúzok: Zsuzsa Koncz and Ágnes Gergely, winners of the first Who Knows What? 1962. **Endre Friedmann**

120. Ferenc Zenthe at the filming of Tenkes kapitánya, an adventure film for young people. 1963. **Éva Keleti**

121. György Szepesi and Tamás Vitray. During the 1960s. **Iren Ács**

122. Stars of Cicavizio [Cat-a-vision], Mészáros and Manócska [Pixy and Raisin], together with their creators, István Kis and Gertrúd Havas. 1964. **Éva Keleti**

123. Photo interview with Kossuth-Award-winning Professor József Öveges, the great campaigner for the popularization of

science, during the recording of the TV program '100 Questions, 100 Answers'. 1960. **Tamás Fényes**

124. Lottery jackpot winners. 1957. **Tamás Fényes**

125. Ernő Rubik, the inventor of the Rubik Cube. 1981. **Gyula Tóth**

126. The farewell match of Flórián Albert, capped 74 times by the national team, at the Népstadion. Ferencváros beat Zalaegerszeg 3:0. 1974. **Gyula Kovács**

127. Károly Sándor or 'Csikar', winner of 75 caps, at the Hungary-France match. 1964. **László Petrovics**

128. András Balczó, Olympic and several-time World Champion at a pentathlon competition near Normafa. 1966. **László Petrovics**

129. Miss Hungary: Andrea Csilla Molnár, 16-year-old grammar school student from Fonyód. 1985. **Tamás Révész**

130. At the Illés Club. 1970. **Péter Korniss**

131. New pop music program on the radio, edited by György Komjáthy: 'Strictly for the Young'. 1965. **Mária Sziklász**

132. The jury gives its score for Zsuzsa Koncz's performance at the Hungarian Television Channel 1 Pop Song Festival. 1966. **Éva Keleti**

133. László Aradszky, pop singer, signs albums at a record shop in Rákóczi Street. 1967. **Ferenc Balassa**

134. Teréz Haragózó in the semi-finals of the Pop Song Festival. 1972. **István Bara**

135. The pop group 'Metró'. 1970. **István Bara**

136. Dance House for Children led by the Sebő folk group at the Kassák Lajos Culture House in Zuglói. 1979. **E. Péter Várkonyi**

137. The pop group Bizottság [The Committee]. 1983. **Éva Horváth**

138. A performance of the musical Imaginary Report from a Pop Festival in the U.S.A. at the Vígszínház [theatre in Budapest]. 1973. **Imre Benkő**

139. She is a household name. The actress and the person: in a word, Hilda Gobbi. 1984. **Sándor Szabó**

140. Tamás Major, Imre Sinkovits and Gyula Szabó in a scene from the film The Corporal and the Others directed by Márton Keleti. 1964. **Endre Friedmann**

141. András Berkesi. 1986. **István Tóth**

142. György Moldova, in 'civilian life' the coach of the pioneer soccer team Pénteggyőr SC [Customs and Excise Officers' Sportclub]. Dinner with the pioneers after training. 1972. **Péter Horváth**

143. Zoltán Latinovits. 1971. **Éva Keleti**

144. Kálmán Latabár on a community project at Blaha Lujza Square, with the demolished National Theatre in the background. 1964. **Iren Ács**

145. On 31 March, the 1977 Eminent Artist and Artist of Merit award ceremony was held at the Dómed Hall in Parliament: György Aczél, Vice President of the Presidium; award winners included Géza Hofi, János Komlós, Director of the 'Mikroszkóp' Studio Theater, and György Lázár, President of the Presidium. 1977. **Géza Szabellédy**

146. László Kazzal and László Kabos in the Vidám Színpad Theater's production Shall We Be Frank? 1976. **Éva Horváth**

8. PEOPLE

147. Hamlet school. Komádi. 1959. **Iren Ács**

148. Gábor Áron Industrial Skilled Worker Training Institute. Ózd, 1989. **Imre Benkő**

149. Text on wall: What gives rights to millions. 1957. **Jenő Papp**

Ferenc Makra, first-year trainee, removing bread from the oven. 1978. **Attila Manek**

150. 'Latchkey children' at a housing project. Szolnok, July 1985. **Tamás Urbán**

151. A housing project in Kecskemét. 1984. **Ferenc Kanyó**

152. Chanteuse Ági Virág singing at a café in Budapest. 1957. **Andor Tormai**

153. Glue-sniffers. 1980s. **András Bánkúti**

154. Suicide. January 1987. **Tamás Urbán**

155. Educational Institute for Boys, Aszód. 1974. **Tamás Urbán**

156. The first super-concert at Hajógyári-sziget [Shipyard-Island]. 1981. **Imre Benkő**

157. In an underpass in Pest. 1983. **András Bánkúti**

158. The 10th Congress of the MSZMP in session. János Bokk Jr, forge-roller at the Ózd Metallurgical Works, making a speech. 1970. **Jenő Papp**

159. In Miskolc, the second largest city in the country, night spots run virtually full houses, just like in the [Hungarian] capital. Espresso coffee being made at the coffee bar of the Polónia restaurant. 1961. **Sándor Mező**

160. EMKE has recently re-opened after reconstruction. The tastefully refurbished, modern restaurant, coffee bar, and fast-food restaurant are busy. 1961. **Tamás Fényes-Gábor Pálfi**

161. Sunbathers. 1985. **Gyula Tóth**

162. Young man on Erzsébet Boulevard. 1989. **Imre Benkő**

163. The traditional Christmas fish sale has started. 22 December 1981. **Tamás Kerekes**

164. In the home of a Gypsy family in Mezőtúr. 1959. **Demeter Balla**

165. Unskilled worker at the construction of the Diósgyőr city center. 1971. **Demeter Balla**

166. Difficult situation (return home of the emigrant son). 1957. **Mariann Reismann**

167. The Culture House of the Technical College of Construction and Transport Technology and the Executive Committee of KISZ held a ball for freshman students at its Assembly Hall at 1-7 Kinizsi Street. 1971. **Mária Lónyai**

168. Gypsy settlement in the vicinity of Eger. 1970. **Margit Wagner**

169. Snapshots from the Vörösmarty pastry shop, one of Budapest's oldest and most famous. 1964. **Mária Sziklász**

170. Miner, around 1980. **László Tóth**

[text on board: Communist Week work competition.]

171. Ernő Osváth's confectionery, Érd. 1981. **Károly Bisztray**

[text on board: Erzsike Pastry shop.]

172. May Festival at Drótostető in Ózd. 1989. **Imre Benkő**

173. On the sun-terrace of the Széchenyi Baths. 1986. **Imre Földi**

174. Bill-poster in Nagykörút [Boulevard]. 1970. **Iren Ács**

175. Sándor Vődrös and Amy Károlyi. 1987. **István Tóth**

176. György Petri with friends at a café in Pest. 1973.

177. János Pilinszky. 1980. **Édit Molnár**

178. Ferenc Karinthy and Péter Veres at the Inaugural Meeting of the Hungarian Writers' Association. 25 September 1959. **Tamás Munk**

179. András Sütő, István Örkény and Ferenc Juhász. 1978. **Imre Benkő**

180. Christmas at the pipeline assembly workshop of the Ózd Factory. 1989. **Imre Benkő**

181. Private hairdressers. During the 1980s. **Aljona Frankl**

182. In the former Gaming Room of the Hungária Coffee House, a private room has been opened for writers and journalists. Sándor Kékési, manager of the Hungária Coffee House, dedicated many years of his life to recreating the effervescent literary life of the predecessor New York Coffee House. Journalist Jenő Kálmán in the private room. 1964. **Édit Molnár**

183. Miklós Jancsó shooting Allegro Barbaro. 1981. **János Esti**

184. Editors of the samizdat Beszélő: Ferenc Kőszeg, Sándor Szilágyi, János Kis, Ottília Solt, György Petri and Miklós Haraszti. 1980s. **László Lugosi Lugo**

185. Painter Jenő Barcsay and Deputy Minister of Culture Dezső Tóth at the opening of an exhibition. 1985. **Éva Horváth**

186. Sunday noon at 3 Kén Street in Ferencváros. 1983. **Andrea Felvégi**

187. In social care. 1986. **László Grnák**

188. Swimming pool of the 'Búzakalász' [Ear of Wheat] Co-operative, Túrkeve. 1960. **József Bajkó**

189. Representative of 'blind chance' in a Pest street. 1970. **Tamás Fényes**

190. Gábor Orbán, maintenance locksmith. Ózd, 1989. **Imre Benkő**

191. Crucifix outside the Hollókő Church. 1970s. **Iren Ács**

192. Pianists Zoltán Kocsis and Dezső Ránki. 1970. **Édit Molnár**

193. György Konrád, Miklós Haraszti, Tibor Hajas, János Vető and Tamás Szentjóbby, East Berlin. 1973. **Vera Pécsi**

194. Graphic artist Arnold Gross. 1985. **Zoltán Pólya**

195. Gyula Pauer. Hatvan. 1976.

196. Miklós Erdély and Gábor Bódy. 1970s

197. The caretaker. Győr, 1962. **László Z. Szabó**

9. PRIVATE RITUALS

201. Angyalföld. 1965. **Iren Ács**

202. Rendezvous. 1983. **Gábor Fejér**

203. KISZ wedding at Pálfi. The young couple are workers at the local 'Alkotmány' [Constitution] Co-operative. Both are members of KISZ. The wedding and reception were organized by KISZ at the local Culture House. The young married couple will return to a fully furnished three-room apartment with every amenity. February 1972. **Ferenc Fehérvári**

204. KISZ wedding at Zagyvarekás. The wedding ceremony was held at the new Culture House of the village and the pioneers said good-bye to their former leader, the bride. November 1962. **József Bajkó**

205. Wedding party at a tenement in Pest. 1962. **László Fejes**

206. The veil as a traffic obstruction. The 9-meter-long veil made of French nylon tulle and the headdress cost the young couple 1,600 forints. Vác Street. June 1962. **György Lajos**

207. Mrs István Sárközi gave birth to triplets in December last year. The naming ceremony [Christening] was held recently and a 27-strong socialist brigade from István Sárközi's workplace were the naming-giving parents. 1966. **József Bajkó**

208. A naming ceremony was held at the co-operative village Gógánfa in Veszprém County. The newborn was greeted by representatives of the pioneers, KISZ youngsters, local council, and civil organizations, among others. 1960. **Ferenc Bereth**

209. Christening ceremony in Matthias Church. 1972.

210. The Amusement Park opened on 30 March 1958. **Mária Lónyai**

211. Street-boys playing pitch and toss. 1964. **Gyula Zaránd**
212. It has become a habit in the village for friends and acquaintances to gather in the evening at the homes of TV owners. Jászboldogháza, May 1964.
- György Lajos-János Hadas**
213. Autumn tour of the Pilis Hills. 1976. **Tamás Fényes**
214. Dinner with a family in Óbánya. May 1976. **Péter E. Várkonyi**
215. Cooking and baking and other wedding preparations are a good illustration of what village life is all about these days. Isaszeg, June 1984.
- László Kunkovics**
216. Pig-killing at the house of former Gábor Sümegi, Bóta, taking place for the first time since compulsory deliveries [to the state] ended. Clean-washing sausage skin. 1957. **Ferenc Bereth**
217. Bacon-frying at the Havanna housing project. 1981. **Imre Benkő**
218. The Sándor Járóka folk band playing at Mátyás Pince [Matthias Cellar]. November 1963. **László Gere- István Herczegh**
219. In high spirits on Nagykörút [Boulevard] on New Year's Eve. 1 January 1963.
- Tamás Fényes**
220. Alberto Moravia signing his book at the Európa Book Store on Nagykörút. March 1973.
- László Petrovics**
221. So far, 100,000 cinema-goers have been to see the new Soviet film *Cranes Flying*, now showing in four cinemas. Queuing outside the Uránia Cinema. June 1958. **Éva Keleti** [text on marquee: *Cranes Flying*, Soviet film.]
222. Can-can at the Budapest Coffee House. 1957. **Andor Tormai**
223. Striptease bar. 1968.
- György Lajos**
224. The Head of the Girls' Brigade of Béke Co-operative got married, and young members of the local KISZ organization arranged a big wedding feast for the young couple. Boldog, September 1962. **Ferenc Bereth**
225. Life at SZOT's Mátra Hills Holiday Resort in the winter. Social evening at Mátraháza, at the restaurant of the Sport Hotel. February 1967. **Rudolf Járni**
226. May Festival at the Havanna housing project. 1984. **Imre Benkő**
227. Snowing in the New Year at the art-studio flat of painter Rudolf Bér. 1967. **György Lajos**
228. At the discotheque. Around 1975. **Ferenc Kanyó**
229. Concert at the Tabán in the 1970s. **Iren Ács**
230. Party. 1978. **Tamás Urbán**
231. Rock concert audience. 1980. **Tamás Urbán**
232. 'Between Váci Street and Lehel Street'. Angyalföld snapshot. July 1981.
- Tamás Fényes**
233. May Festival at Városliget. 1980. **Iren Ács**
234. Sunday afternoon in the Amusement Park. It's difficult to hurl the ram right to the top. May 1975. **Béla Jármai**
235. Pensioner chess players at the Tabán. August 1973. **István Tóth**
236. The football pools competition has started up again. Players used the 13+1 format for the first time this week, and now their wins can be bigger. Budapest, March 1964. **László Petrovics**
237. Morning programme. The 1970s. **Pál Bence**
238. Fishermen on the northern shore of Lake Balaton. May 1977. **Gyula Tóth**
239. Listening to a broadcast of a football match in Almásy Square. 1963. **Ibolya Váradí**
240. At the race-course. 1968. **Demeter Balla**
241. Scroungers. Around 1958. **Zoltán Zajky**
- 242., 243., 244. 'Franzstadt über alles.' 1983. **András Bánkúti**
245. One of the country's most modern hair salons, Pécs. 1962. **György Lajos**
246. Massage equipment. The machine is ideal for keeping the muscle tone permanently fit, for preventing fatigue, and for weight control. October 1968.
- János Hadas**
247. Gym at the Viktória Sports Salon in Normafa Street. 1982. **Imre Benkő**
10. LOCATIONS
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249. Nyergesújfalu, this small village on the bank of the Danube, was a quiet, sleepy place at the turn of the century. Today, there is a major industrial operation here. The workforce employed at the factories numbers more than 2,500. Over the years, several hundred detached houses have been built alongside new residential estates. May 1964.
- Endre Friedmann-Tamás Fényes**
250. Painter Attila Demjén paints a picture of the Füsttyűk Street residential estate for the 8th Fine Art Exhibition. March 1960. **Edít Molnár**
251. Sunday morning. Makád, 1968. **Tibor Inkey**
252. Tenement in Józsefváros. 1968. **Iren Ács**
253. János Vass and his wife at their Ürmöshát farm on the outskirts of Balmazújváros. 1978. **János Ilku**
254. Makeshift Zhiguli garage in Diósárok Street in the 12th District. May 1975. **Tamás Székely**
255. The visitor is greeted by an old harrow, a huffing engine, a sweep-pole well, and a multitude of domestic animals at the Illés Elekkes farm in Zsana. Illés Elekkes with his car. 1985.
- Péter E. Várkonyi**
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257. A look inside an apartment on a Kelenföld housing project. 1963.
- György Pálfi**
258. Bulletin boards advertising apartments at Marx Square. Around 1960. **Klára Langer**
259. Apartment of a Gypsy family. Alsószentmárton, around 1976.
- Tamás Révész**
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261. Sunday noon at 3 Kén Street. 1983. **Andrea Felvégi**
262. New library in Feldebrő. 1967. **László Kovács**
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264. Housing project, the 1980s. **András Bánkúti**
265. Budapest the metropolis. New neon lighting brings daylight to the streets. November 1958. **Dezso Sziklai** [Text on neon sign: Insurance to protect the workers' interests.]
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267. Ceremonial opening of the Youth Park. 20 August 1961. **Tamás Székely**
268. At the Lenin statue. 1980.
- Pérénom Luc**
269. Hot Sunday at Szabadság strand. 1962. **Endre Friedmann**
270. Unofficial celebration at the Petőfi statue. 15 March 1973. **Júlia Veres**
271. Volán long-distance bus stop in Szolnok County. 1975. **János Esti** [text on wall: See you in the cinema!]
272. Commuting workers waiting for a train at the Eastern Railway Station. 1979. **Péter Korniss**
273. Dining and watching TV at the workers' hostel. 1981. **Péter Korniss**
274. Steelworks. Time for a break. Ózd, 1987. **Imre Benkő**
275. View of the Duna Metallurgical Works. 1959. **Zoltán Seidner**
276. The new cafeteria of Egyesült Izzó [United Lighting], capable of seating 600 people. 1962. **Róbert Horling**
277. Factory Street, Ózd, 1989. **Imre Benkő**
278. At the Goldberger Textile Printing Factory in Óbuda. 1986. **László Gmák**
279. In our young and increasingly beautiful capital city, transport is keeping up with the latest developments. As the number of cars on the road increases, a welcome trend, so does the number of traffic problems. Traffic policeman at the crossing of Népköztársaság Street and Bojcsy-Zsilinszky Street. June 1965.
- György Lajos**
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- Tamás Urbán**
283. Prisoners working in the fields. Állampuszta. 1986. **Tamás Urbán**
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285. The Budapest committee of the Medical and Healthcare Trade Union held a very successful ball at the Gundel. February 1963. **Róbert Horling**
286. The inner room of the Vörösmartyú pastry shop. March 1976.
- György Lajos**
287. Self-service restaurant on Nagykörút. February 1974.
- Tamás Szukovényi**
288. The transformed Abbázia Restaurant on Lenin Boulevard. The food bar. March 1977. **Sándor Brandstetter**
289. Perbő, a village with a population of 2,000 in the Zsámbék Basin, recently called attention to itself because of the opening there of the first village art gallery in the local pub, the only place of entertainment in Perbő. September 1983.
- Éva Horváth**
290. Young Artists' Club. 1976
291. Kedves Café Bar in Váci Street. February 1959. **Sándor Bojár**
292. 'Patyolat'. The 1980s.
- László Lugosi Lugó**
293. The Eastern Main Channel, a tributary of the Tisza River, has been transformed into a recreational area. Residents of neighboring towns and villages and many others spend their weekends on the bank of the Channel in active relaxation. May 1984. **Tibor Oláh**
294. Detached houses and weekend cottages in the vicinity of Törökugrat. May 1984. **Albert Kozák**
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- György Lajos**
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- György Murai-Gábor Ruzsonyi**
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- Péter Korniss**
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- Gyula Zaránd**
300. Lunch of a commuting worker. Újpest. 1982. **Péter Korniss**
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304. Józsefváros. 1973. **Imre Benkő**
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307. Altar boys at the Szécsény Church. 1973. **Iren Ács**
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309. (Untitled) 1986. **Van der Meer** [text on wall poster: Revolutionary Youth Days.]
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311. Family next to their new Moskvich. 1962
312. Drunken man in Baross Square. 1975
313. Stabbing at the Badacsony Wine Bar in Váci Street. 20 October 1986.
- Tamás Urbán**
314. Sergeant János Kovács, district policeman for Pomáz, checking identity documents at a liquor store. October 1973. **Andor Tormai**
315. Motorist in an accident on the BAH overpass carriageway. 21 April 1985. **Tamás Urbán**
316. Identity check. 1980s.
317. (Untitled) 1986. **Van der Meer**
318. Adult education at the Kossuth Lajos Industrial Vocational School in Csepel. October 1974. **Imre Benkő**
319. Hársfa Street. 1989. **Imre Benkő**
320. Payday at the Lőrinc Spinning Works. 1974. **Iren Ács**
321. (Untitled) 1980s. **Van der Meer**
322. Farewell party at Ganz-Mávag for miller János Gröb on his retirement. August 1958. **Sándor Mező** [text on board: A heartfelt farewell to our colleague, János Gröb.]
323. Active recreation at the Ganz-Mávag factory. On the recommendation of the management of the factory sports club, a new movement was started by some factory units. At ten o'clock every morning work stops at the sound of a bell, and ten minutes of exercise begin. December 1960. **László Mikó**
324. Sculptor István Kiss making a sketch at the Csepel Furnace for a composition entitled *The Steel Smelter*. April 1960. **László Petrovics**
325. Socialist brigade at the Csepel car factory. 1976. **Iren Ács** [text on board: 1975 Competition News of the Vehicle Plant.]
326. The KISZ organization of the Csepel Iron and Metal Works held a beauty contest for the title of 'Miss Csepel Iron Works' at the Youth Centre. The winner was Mrs Miklós Józsa, a worker at the Ball Bearing Factory. May 1957
327. Budapest mothers sunning their babies outside the Opera House in the autumn sunshine. November 1958.
- Pál Jónás**
328. Nursery class going for a walk along Váci Street. August 1966.
- Tamás Fényes**
329. Reading class. 1960s.
- Ferenc Bartal**
330. Valediction at the Kossuth Lajos Technical School for Economics. 1966.
- Edít Molnár**
331. Factory infants' nursery in Kőbánya. 1961. **Iren Ács**
332. Teenagers at the Southern Railway Terminal. July 1969. **Imre Benkő**
333. Snapshot of life 'on the road'. September 1969. **György Lajos** [text on board: I'm not a hooligan - You too had to walk once.]
334. Autumn hat fashions. 1961.
- László Kácsor**
335. The Cotton Printing Company is trying to help young people with their housing problems. Young workers inspect their new apartments under construction. Óbuda. November 1973.
- Endre Friedmann**
336. István Csúrka - writer, Sándor Csodri - poet, István Horváth - Minister of the Interior, and János Barabás - Secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP at a US Embassy reception. 1989. **Tamás Révész**
337. Invited guests at the 10th Congress of the MSZMP. From the left: László Németh, Gyula Illyés, József Darvas, József Bognár and György Lukács. 23 November 1970. **Jenő Papp**
338. István Szabó, Kossuth Award winning film director, during the shooting of the Hungarian film *Mephisto*. May 1982
339. Tourists at the Betyár Csárda. Kecskemét, 1968. **Iren Ács**
340. Elections in Kéthodony in Nógrád County. Members of the nationally famous local bridal choir in folk costumes. April 1971. **Ferenc Fehérvári** [text on wall poster: It's not enough to desire what's good; you must want it! And it's not enough to want it; you must act upon it! (From a poem by Mihály Váci.)]
341. The village has changed. Two peasant women in the main street of Aszód: they came from a neighboring village, Ikád, to visit the gas filling station. They will carry the gas cylinders back to their village in baskets on their backs, as an increasing number of households are replacing their solid-fuel cookers with the gas variety. March 1968.
- László Kun Kovács**
342. The annual earnings of István Németh, member of the Új Élet [New Life] Co-operative in Szeged, and that of his family—a combination of his income from the co-operative and back-yard farming and vegetable gardening—are around 50,000–60,000 forints. Recently, Németh even bought a car from his earnings. His family work in their vegetable garden, growing early vegetables under plastic sheets. 1982. **Béla Tóth**
343. Flax pulling at one of the country's largest flax producing co-operatives. Harvested flax is bound in sheaves. Mezőszilas, 1967. **Ferenc Fehérvári**
344. Flax pulling at one of the country's largest flax producing co-operatives. Flax is harvested using ZM4 machines. Mezőszilas, 1967. **Ferenc Fehérvári**
345. New highway at Terenye. 1960s.
- Miklós Rév**
346. Office. 1980s.
- László Lugosi Lugo**
347. At the doctor's surgery. 1980s.
- András Bánkúti**
348. Performance at Heroes' Square. Júlia Klaniczay and György Kálantai. Early 1980s. **György Hegedűs**
12. CONSUMERISM, SHOPPING
349. Sides of bacon have gone on sale in selected shops. Shop-window of distribution outlet of the Meat Distribution Company of Közért at 10 Szív Street [in Budapest]. November 1957.
- Endre Friedmann**
- [text on board: Buy sides of bacon at a good price now!]
350. Warmer weather is here [and] the ice-man has made his appearance in the streets of Pest. February 1957.
- Tamás Fényes**
351. Coal being delivered to houses in Pest. December 1957.
- Ferenc Vigovszky**
352. First Week lottery drawing at the Theater-Hall of MEDOSZ Mária Zsigmond Culture House. March 1957. **Jenő Papp**
353. In front of the shop-window of the Verseny [competition] Department Store. March 1957. **Edít Molnár** [text on board: 'It could be yours!']
354. Master hairdresser Sándor Vizi has invented the Valentyna hairstyle, the Pest equivalent of astronaut Tereshkova's hairstyle. 1963. **László Kácsor** [Newspaper headline: The first woman in space.]

355. An in-house cosmetics salon offers its services to the workers of the Goldberg Factory in Óbuda. 1958.
356. Raincoat and woven straw handbag. October 1964.
László Kácsor
357. Trial production of seamless women's nylon stockings has started. September 1960. **László Marosi**
358. Golden Sunday on Rákóczi Street. 1960. **György Lajos**
359. Winter end-of-season sale. 1962. **Andor Tormai**
360. The Metal Furniture and Wire Fabric Factory has completed a test series of furniture sets. Lelle. February 1960. **Sándor Mező**
361. Following the example set by the capital, Service Centers offering articles for everyday use have quickly gained popularity in the provinces too. Washing machine rental is very popular. May 1964. **Gyula Kovács**

362. 'Fresh pretzels!' August 1968. **Imre Benkő**
363. Gift box made up of articles imported from Western Europe at a drug store on the Körút. January 1971. **György Lajos**
364. The Ladies' Lingerie Salon of the Budapest Made-to-Measure Tailors makes fashion items of Hungarian-made rayon, perlon lace and terry cloth. Latest petticoat style. March 1957. **Andor Tormai**
365. Ball-gown show of the Exclusive Fashion House at the banquet hall of the Gundel Restaurant, with the designer, Klára Rothschild. October 1966. **Ferenc Balassa**
366. Golden Sunday. After shopping. 1979. **Mária Pintér**
367. 10,000 kilos of bananas were delivered to the Western Railway Terminal in Budapest. If the consignment has

remained fresh after transportation, our import authorities will order new deliveries. The [current] consignment will be distributed to retail outlets without delay. December 1957. **Jenő Papp**
368. Livestock market in Albertirs. Piglets in the trunk of a car. February 1974. **Tamás Fényes**
369. Commercial signboards along Erzsébet királyné Street. September 1974. [text on signs: Medical sexologist. Skilled electrician.]
370. Introducing Coca-Cola to Hungary. Free samples served in Újpest. 1974. **Iren Ács**
371. Shop-window in Váci Street. September 1982. **Gábor Ruzsonyi**
372. Private taxi-stand in István Square in the 4th District [of Budapest]. Around 1980. **Tamás Székely**
373. Vendor's booths outside the Uránia Cinema. 1985. **László Varga**

374. The 'Yugoslav market' in Harkány. 1986. **László Grnák**
375. Modular set made in the GDR in the apartment of a young couple. 1977. **Iren Ács**
376. Pierre Cardin, the famous French fashion designer, opens a boutique at 8 Tanács [Council] Boulevard in the 5th [downtown] District of Budapest. September 1983. **László Varga**
377. The first Hungarian McDonald's is about to open. A new plant has been set up in Bóbalna to supply McDonald's Staff of the restaurant in Budapest. April 1988
378. Summer on Lake Balaton. July 1987. **László Petrovics**
379. A shop on Mariahilferstrasse. Vienna. 1988
 [text on board: Hungarians! Feel at home! Inexpensive drinks.]

380. Hungarians shopping in Vienna. 1988. **Judit Müller**

13. BEFORE THE TRANSITION

381. Protest demonstration against the Nagymaros Dam on 12 September 1988. **Andrea Apró**
382. Police taking into custody G.M. Tamás in front of the Bathányi Eternal Flame during the commemoration ceremony of the anniversary of Imre Nagy's death. 16 June 1988
383. The 'last supper' of workers at the 150-year-old Óbuda Shipyard before its closure. 1989. **Zsolt Pataki** [text on board: Hungarian ship-building is 150 years old.]
384. Protest demonstration on 15 March 1989.
András Bánkúti [text on banner: 1945–1989 That's enough. [We've had enough].]

INDEX OF NAMES

Only information relevant to the Kádár era—other than the date of their death—will be given on public figures featured in the book.

Aczél, György, 1917–91. Member of the Communist Party before World War II, in 1949 imprisoned for several years in a Stalinist show trial. In '54 rehabilitated. From '56 member of the Central Committee. '70–88 member of the Politburo. '57–67 Deputy Minister. '67–74 and '82–85 Secretary of the Central Committee. '74–82 Deputy Prime Minister. From the late '60s to the mid-'80s a leading political figure in the MSZMP, responsible for cultural policy. Absolutely committed to Kádár's policies, and, by way of personal favors and an informal network, he won support for the regime from many respected cultural figures.

Albert, Flórián, 1941–. From the late '50s until 1974 star player of the most popular soccer club in Hungary, Ferencváros. Capped 75 times by the Hungarian national team, selected to play for a representative World II, in 1967 awarded the European Golden Ball. Went into sports administration after the end of his playing career.

Apró, Antal, 1913–94. Member of the Communist Party before World War II. After the war continued to hold high office until the late '80s. '45–48 Head of Department at Party Headquarters. '48–51 Head of SZOT. '52–56 Minister, then Deputy Prime Minister. '56–57 President of the Patriotic National Front and Minister. '57–71, as Deputy Prime Minister highest ranking Hungarian representative in COMECON. 1971–84 President of Parliament. '46–80, except for short periods, Member of the Politburo. Party bureaucrat with no mind of his own.

Balczó, András, 1938–. Pentathlete, five times World Champion, both individual and team (1963–69), three times Olympic gold medalist (1960, 1968, 1972).

Barabás, János, 1947–. One of a generation of university-educated Party bureaucrats who came to power in the final phase of the Kádár regime. During the '70s held various high offices in KISZ. '82–88 Deputy Central Committee Departmental Head. 1989 Secretary of the Central Committee.

Barcsay, Jenő, 1900–88. Painter, professor of art anatomy at the Fine Art College.

Berkési, András, 1919–97. As a member of military counter-intelligence,

was involved in preparations for political show trials in the second half of the '40s. 1950–54 fell victim to such a trial himself. A best-selling writer enjoying political support and recognition during the Kádár era.

Biszku, Béla, 1921–. Member of illegal Communist Party before World War II. From the '50s Party and government official. During the post-'56 repression Minister of the Interior, also in charge of the Political Police. '61–62 Deputy Prime Minister. '62–78 Secretary of the Central Committee. '56–85 member of the Central Committee. '56–80 member of the Politburo. One of the most influential politicians of the '60s and the '70s and more of a hard-liner than Kádár. One of the chief opponents within the Party leadership of economic reforms. In 1972—hoping for Soviet assistance—plotted with like-minded 'conservatives' to remove Kádár from office.

Bódy, Gábor, 1946–85. Film director. Regarded as one of the most original talents of the younger generation and won many grands prix both in Hungary and abroad.

Bognár, József, 1917–96. 1947–49 leader of the Smallholders' Party. Mayor of Budapest. 1949–56 minister, then an economist of international relations. 1945–90 MP. Representative of 'socialist national unity'.

Borbándi, János, 1923–94. Member of the Communist Party before World War II. 1961–66 Deputy Minister of National Defense. 1966–74 Central Committee Departmental Head of the MSZMP responsible for the army and the police. 1974–84 Deputy Prime Minister. **Brezhnev, Leonid Ilich**, 1906–82. From 1964 until his death, leader of the Soviet Communist Party and Head of State (President of the Supreme Soviet).

Ceausescu, Nicolae, 1918–89. From 1967 leader of the Romanian Communist Party; from '74 Head of State. Overthrown by the revolution in 1989 and executed shortly afterwards.

Cedenbal, Yamzhagiy, 1916–91. 1940–84 Communist leader of Mongolia. In 1990 excluded from the Party.

Csoóri, Sándor, 1930–. Poet and writer. From the '70s one of the best known representatives of Hungarian populism. Subject to frequent censorship under the Kádár regime.

Csurka, István, 1934–. Writer. From the '70s one of the best known representatives of Hungarian populism. During the Kádár era, an acknowledged stage director, script writer, and short-story writer, but subject to frequent censorship.

Czinege, Lajos, 1924–. Before 1956 held various positions in the Party administration. 1960–84 Minister of National Defense. 1984–87 Deputy Prime Minister. Typical Party bureaucrat with no imagination and unquestioning devotion to Soviet Union.

Darvas, József, 1912–73. Writer. After 1945 Peasant Party politician. 1950–56 Minister. From 1959 until his death President of the Hungarian Writers' Association. Implementer of communist literary and cultural policies and a representative of 'socialist national unity'.

Dobi, István, 1898–1968. From 1943 a leader of the Smallholders' Party. '46, '48 Minister. Played an active role in the break up of his own party. '48–'52 Prime Minister. '52–'67 Head of State (President of the Presidium).

Representative of 'socialist national unity'. From '59 member of the MSZMP.

Donáth, Ferenc, 1913–86. Member of illegal Communist Party before World War II. '45–51 associate of Imre Nagy. Senior official in the Party administration. '51–54 imprisoned as a result of a political show trial. '56 close associate of Imre Nagy. '58 sentenced to 12 years in prison in the Imre Nagy trial. '60 freed by amnesty. Scholar. From the late '70s involved in the democratic opposition movement.

Dubček, Alexander, 1921–1992. From '39 member of the Communist Party. '63–68 Head of the Slovakian Communist Party. '68–69 Head of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. After his dismissal in 1968, excluded from the Party. From '70 worked as a minor administrator.

Eörsi, István, 1931–. Poet, writer and translator. For his involvement in the Revolution of '56 was sentenced to 8 years in prison. 1960 freed by amnesty. From the late '70s involved in the democratic opposition movement. Subject to frequent censorship under the Kádár regime.

Erdély, Miklós, 1928–86. Artist. Leading figure in the Hungarian avant-garde in the '70s. Continued to work until his death despite harassment by the authorities.

Erdei, Ferenc, 1910–71. Founder of the National Peasant Party. '48–56 Minister, from '64 General Secretary of the Patriotic National Front. Representative of 'socialist national unity'. Involved in formulating agrarian policy and agrarian sociology.

Farkas, Bertalan, 1949–. Pilot and astronaut. '80 participated in an 8-day space flight with three Soviet cosmonauts as part of the Intercosmos

Program. The first and still the only Hungarian astronaut.

Fejti, György, 1946–. One of a generation of university-educated party bureaucrats who came to power in the final phase of the Kádár regime. 1980–84 Head of KISZ. '84–89 held high office in the MSZMP, his last position being Secretary of the Central Committee.

Fenák, Judit, 1936–. Journalist, writer. '72–88 senior contributor at *Nők Lapja*.

Fock, Jenő, 1916–. Member of the Communist Party before World War II. Before '56 held a number of economic positions, among others as Deputy Minister and trade union leader. '57–80 member of the Politburo. '57–61 Secretary of the Central Committee. '61–67 Deputy Prime Minister. '67–75 Prime Minister. Committed to economic reform, for which he was neglected from '73 onwards, despite his former prominence.

Gáspár, Sándor, 1917–. Member of the Communist Party before World War II. Before 1956 a leader of SZOT. '46–88 member of the Central Committee. 1962–88 member of the Politburo. '56–59 and '65–83 General Secretary of SZOT, then President until '88. '59–61 and '63–65 Budapest Head of the Party. '61–62 Secretary of the Central Committee. One of the chief opponents within the Party leadership for Soviet assistance—plotted with like-minded 'conservatives' to remove Kádár from office.

Gierek, Edward, 1913–. '70–80 Head of the Polish Communist Party. In 1980, stripped of all his posts in connection with the activities of Solidarity, and in 1981 excluded from the party.

Gimes, Miklós, 1917–58. During the war a partisan in Yugoslavia. From '45 journalist and member of the Communist Party. From '53 turned against Stalinism. Supporter of Imre Nagy. In '56 launched a newspaper. After the Soviet intervention a leading figure in the resistance movement. At the end of '56 arrested, and, on 16 June 1958, executed alongside Imre Nagy and others.

Gobbi, Hilda, 1913–88. Actress whose repertoire encompassed everything from tragedy to comedy.

Gromyko, Andrei Andreievich 1909–89. '57–85 Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. '73–88 member of the Politburo. '85–88 Head of State (President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet).

Gross, Arnold, 1929–. Painter, graphic artist.

Grósz, Károly, 1930–96. From '50 worked in Party administration. '68–73 and '74–79 Central Committee Department Head. '79–87 Party leader at county level and later in Budapest. '87–88 Prime Minister, and '88–89 succeeded Kádár as General Secretary of the Party. From '80 member of the Central Committee, and '85–89 member of the Politburo.

Like Gorbachev, he contributed to the collapse of the regime by making the inevitable concessions.

Grósz, József, 1887–1961. Roman Catholic prelate. From '43 until his death Archbishop of Kalocsa. From the arrest of Cardinal József Mindszenty in '49 until his death presided over the episcopate. In '51 sentenced to 15 years in prison at a political show trial. Pardoned in '56.

Habsburg, Ottó, 1912–. Son of Charles IV, the King of Hungary deposed in 1918 and the last Habsburg monarch. Head of the Habsburg Dynasty since his father's death in 1922. Since World War II a German citizen, although Hungarian is his native tongue. Since '79 member of the European Parliament as a representative of the Christian Democratic Party of Germany, later Vice President of the European Parliament. In '89 was allowed to return to Hungary for the first time.

Hajas, Tibor, 1946–80. Neo-avant-garde poet, artist, and performance artist. Came into confrontation with the communist regime due to his political views and work as an artist. Died in an accident.

Haraszti, Miklós, 1945–. Writer and publicist. From 1970 put under police surveillance as a member of the political opposition. In '73 arrested and given a suspended prison sentence. '77 among the founders of samizdat in Hungary; from '81 co-editor of the most important samizdat periodical, *Beszélő*.

Hofi, Géza, 1936–. Actor and author recognised even by the political establishment and popular cabaret artist in the Kádár era.

Horváth, István, 1935–. From 1959 worked in Party administration. '70–73 Head of KISZ. '73–80 Party leader at county level. '80–85 Minister of the Interior. '85–87 Secretary of the Central Committee. '87–90 Minister of the Interior and Deputy Prime Minister. Forced to resign due to the illegal practices of the political police for which he was responsible.

Husak, Gustav, 1913–91. Member of the Czech Communist Party before World War II. In 1951 excluded from the Party. In '54 sentenced to life

imprisonment. In '63 rehabilitated. In '68 during the reform period Deputy Prime Minister, then Head of the Slovakian Communist Party. '69–87 Head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. 1975–89 President of the Republic. Halted the reform movement in '68. In 1990 excluded from the Party.

Ilyés, Gyula, 1902–83. Poet and writer. Before World War II joined a number of left-wing movements. After 1945 Peasant Party politician. After the communist takeover abstained from politics. In '56 was involved in reorganizing the Peasant Party. After the crushing of the Revolution protested against the Soviet invasion and communist repression by refraining from writing. Later on, while retaining his integrity, became a recognised author, one of the most influential representatives of populism. Regarded as one of the greatest literary figures of post-war Hungary.

Jancsó, Miklós, 1921–. Film director. Regarded as an epoch-making artist in the history of Hungarian film. In 1979 awarded the Life Work prize at Cannes.

Juhász, Ferenc, 1928–. Poet. Began to publish poetry in 1947. From the '70s to the early '80s a favorite artist of cultural policy-makers. Since the mid-'80s has published almost nothing.

Kádár, János, 1912–89. From '31 member of the Communist Party; from '43 one of the leaders of the Party, which at that time counted no more than a couple of hundred members. From '45 held key positions in the Communist Party in coalition government. '49–50 Minister of the Interior. Involved in political show trials. In '51 was imprisoned himself, to be freed in '54. '56 Minister of State in the Imre Nagy government. 'Disappeared' only to re-emerge two days later at the head of a government seeking to legitimize Soviet intervention. '56–88 Head of the Communist Party. '88–89 President. '56–58 and '61–65 Prime Minister.

Mrs Kádár, János (maiden name: Tamáska, Mária), 1912–92. After World War II until her husband's imprisonment worked for the political police and the Foreign Ministry, and from '58 to '80 at the Bureau of Information.

Kállai, Gyula, 1910–96. Member of the Communist Party before World War II. After 1945 appointed to a number of high posts in the Party administration. Newspaper editor. In '51 imprisoned, and in '54 rehabilitated. Leading political figure in the first decade of the Kádár era. 1956–75 member of the Politburo. '56–58 Minister, then Deputy Prime Minister. '65–67 Prime Minister. After that, no longer a major political figure. '67–71 Speaker of Parliament. '57–89 President of the Patriotic National Front.

Karinthy, Ferenc, 1921–92. Writer. After the crushing of the '56 Revolution stopped publishing until 1960. After that, published many books, novels, short stories, and plays. Recognised even by the political establishment.

Károlyi, Amy, 1909–. Poet and translator. Before '56 was able to publish only children's poems. Tolerated—but not supported—during the Kádár era as a so called 'l'art pour l'art' artist [that is, not concerned with social issues]. Wife of Sándor Weöres.

Katushev, Konstantin Fiodorovich, 1927–. Engineer, later Party worker. From 1952 member of the Soviet Communist Party. From 1968 Secretary of the Central Committee. From 1977 Deputy Prime Minister. 1977–80 permanent COMECON representative of the Soviet Union.

Kern, András, 1948–. Actor, theater and film director.

Király, Zoltán, 1948–. KISZ leader, journalist. From 1974 member of the MSZMP. From 1985 MP. From 1987 noted in Parliament for his recalcitrant, critical speeches highlighting acts of a preposterous nature. In 1988 excluded from the Party together with a number of other critical intellectuals.

Kis, János, 1943–. Philosopher. In the early '70s sacked and excluded from the Party for his political views and works critical of the regime. His writings were banned, and he supported himself by translating. In the '80s had occasional teaching jobs abroad. Founder of the democratic opposition. From 1981 co-editor of the most important samizdat periodical, *Beszédsé*.

Kiss, István, 1927–98. Sculptor of—particularly political—memorial statues. From 1975 member of the MSZMP and for a while member of the Central Committee.

Kocsis, Zoltán, 1952–. Pianist of international repute even as a young man, composer, conductor. During the Kádár era editor of the periodical *Mozgó Világ*, voicing opposition views and supporting opposition actions.

Komlós, János, 1922–80. After 1945 member of the political police. After '56 journalist, later stand-up comedian and theater director. Leading figure in cabaret movement critical of the more absurd aspects of the regime but largely loyal to it.

Komócsin, Zoltán, 1923–74. From 1941 member of the Communist Party. From '44 worked in Party administration. From '54 Head of Department at Party Headquarters. Among the first organizers of KISZ, and in '57–61 its first leader. '61–65 editor-in-chief of *Népszabadság*, the Party's central daily and the newspaper with the largest circulation. '65–74 Secretary of the Central Committee. Absolutely pro-Soviet politician, more of a hard-liner than Kádár. The adversaries of political reform would have preferred him to become Kádár's successor if the planned 'putsch' within the Party leadership had been successful in '72. From '56 member of the Central Committee. '62–74 member of the Politburo. From '73 rendered inactive by deteriorating health.

Koncz, Szuzsa, 1946–. Pop singer. Professional performer since the '70s. In '73 had the first 'gold record' in Hungary. One of the most popular pop singers in Hungary, particularly during the '70s.

Konrád, György, 1933–. Sociologist and writer. From '73 a freelancer. Between '77 and '89 his writings were banned. Lived abroad for a while. From the late '70s involved in the democratic opposition movement.

Kopácsy, Sándor, 1922–. From 1945 member of the Communist Party. In '56 as Head of the Budapest Police sided with the Revolution. In '58 sentenced to life imprisonment in the Imre Nagy trial. In 1963 freed by amnesty. Manual worker. In '75 emigrated to Canada; in '89 rehabilitated and returned to Hungary.

Korom, Mihály, 1927–93. From '46 member of the Communist Party. '45–51 army, later police officer. '51–55 worked in Party administration. '58–60 police chief directing the repression after the crushing of the '56 Revolution. '60–63 Commander of the Border Guard. '63–66 Secretary of the Central Committee. '66–78 Minister of Justice. '78–85 once again Secretary of the Central Committee. '80–85 Member of the Politburo.

Kőszeg, Ferenc, 1939–. Literary critic, publicist. From the late '70s involved in the democratic opposition movement;

from 1981 co-editor of the most important samizdat periodical, *Beszédsé*.

Lázár, György, 1924–. 1958–70 Vice President of the National Planning Bureau. '70–73 Minister. '73–75 President of the National Planning Bureau with ministerial powers. '75–87 Prime Minister. '87–88 Deputy General Secretary of the Party. '75–88 member of the Politburo. Bureaucrat who failed to demonstrate an independent political character despite his long term of office as Prime Minister.

Latabár, Kálmán, 1902–70. Very popular comic actor and *bon-vivant*.

Latinovits, Zoltán, 1931–76. Actor, director, and an outstanding reciter of poetry. Cultural icon due to his artistic career and suicide.

Losonczi, Pál, 1919–. From 1945 member of the Communist Party. '48–60 chairman of a co-operative. 1960–67 Minister of Agriculture. 1967–87 Head of State (President of the Presidium). 1957–89 member of the Central Committee. '75–87 member of the Politburo. Party bureaucrat with no mind of his own.

Losonczy, Géza, 1917–57. Member of the Communist Party before World War II. 1948–51 State Secretary. In 1951 sentenced to 15 years on fabricated charges—in 1956 rehabilitated. From late November '56 Secretary of State in the Imre Nagy Government. 1957 died in detention under dubious circumstances, but almost certainly because his medical condition was neglected.

Lukács, György, 1885–1971. Philosopher. From 1918 member of the Hungarian Communist Party. 1919 national commissar in the short-lived Hungarian Commune. Between the two World Wars lived abroad, mainly in the Soviet Union. After 1945 regarded as not fully trustworthy despite his loyalty to the Party because he was an independent thinker. In 1956 a Minister in the Imre Nagy Government. After the crushing of the '56 Revolution interned in Romania. On his return he was unable to publish for years; attacked for both his scholarly work and political statements. In 1968 readmitted (or, as his disciples put it: reconfirmed) to the Communist Party.

Lumumba, Patrice, 1925–61. Congolese politician. In 1960 the first pro-Soviet Prime Minister of the independent Republic of Congo. In 1960 murdered by his adversaries.

Madarász, Emil, 1884–1962. From 1908 involved in the left-wing and later communist movement. Before 1945 lived in the Soviet Union. After World War II, having returned from the Soviet Union, published poems but did not gain real recognition.

Magyar, Béla, 1949–. Pilot. In 78–80, alongside Bertalan Farkas, underwent space pilot training at Planet City in the Soviet Union. Reserve astronaut for the first Hungarian-Soviet space flight.

Mayakovskij, Vladimir Vladimirovich, 1893–1930. Soviet-Russian author and poet.

Maléter, Pál, 1917–58. Professional army officer. In '56 as the commander of the Budapest garrison, sided with the revolutionaries. In early November '56 Deputy Minister and later Minister of Defense in the Imre Nagy Government. On 3 November arrested during official talks with the Soviet army command. Executed at the same time as Imre Nagy.

Maróthy, László, 1942–. One of a generation of university-educated Party bureaucrats who came to power in the final phase of the Kádár regime. 1973–80 Head of KISZ. '80–84 Budapest Party Chief. '84–87 Deputy Prime Minister. '86–87 President of the National Planning Bureau with ministerial powers.

'87–89 Minister of Environment and Water Management. '75–89 member of the Politburo.

Marosán, György, 1908–92. 1927–48 member of the Social Democratic Party; '45–48 Deputy General Secretary. As a leading figure on the left wing of his party, played a decisive part in its 'merger' with the Communist Party, of which he became Deputy General Secretary. '48–50 member of the Politburo and Budapest Party Chief. '49–50 minister. '50 imprisoned; in '56 rehabilitated. Deputy Prime Minister in the Kádár government. '57–60 Minister of State. '60–62 Budapest Party Chief. '57–62 member of the Politburo. In '62 resigned from office because he disapproved of Kádár's politics of reconciliation; in '65 left the Party.

Mihályfi, Ernő, 1898–1972. Founder of the Smallholders' Party. Before 1945 newspaper editor; afterwards, as leader of the left wing of the party, played a decisive part in its dissolution. 1947 Minister. '51–58 Deputy Minister. From 1947 until his death MP. '49–72 member of the Presidium. After the '56 Revolution editor in chief of daily *Magyar Nemzet* for more than ten years.

Moldova, György, 1934–. From 1964 freelance writer. His writings, satires and sociographies highlighted the anomalies of socialist society from a position of absolute commitment to the regime.

Moravia, Alberto, 1907–90. Italian writer. His works began to be published in Hungary in the '50s.

Münnich, Ferenc, 1886–1967. As a prisoner of war he joined the Russian Bolshevik Party in 1917. From '45 held high office in Hungary. 1946–49 Police Commander of Budapest. '49–56 Ambassador. Initially Khrushchev intended to make him head of the government which seized power with the assistance of Soviet troops. From the crushing of the '56 Revolution to the early '60s one of the top leaders, and deputy to János Kádár. Until early 1957 responsible for the armed forces and law and order. 1958–61 Prime Minister. 1956–66 member of the Politburo.

Nagy, Imre, 1896–1958. During World War I prisoner in war in Russia, fought in the Red Guard. From 1920 member of the Communist Party. 21–27 engaged in Party affairs in Hungary, emigrated after a short term in prison. '30–44 lived in the Soviet Union. After his return to Hungary, Minister in '44–46, and Secretary of the Communist Party. '47–49 Speaker of the Parliament. In '49 removed from supreme Party leadership. '50–52 Minister. '52–53 Deputy Prime Minister. '53–55 Prime Minister in succession to the Stalinist leadership. In '55 relieved of office by the Stalinists' return to power and excluded from the Party. On 23 October '56 appointed Prime Minister by popular acclamation. On the Soviet intervention on 4 November fled to the Yugoslav Embassy together with several associates, but they were kidnapped by the Soviets and interned in Romania. After being brought home he was sentenced to death on 15 June 1958 and executed the next day.

Németh, Károly, 1922–. From 1945 member of the Communist Party. From '46 worked in Party administration. From '57 member of the Central Committee. '70–88 member of the Politburo. '60–62 Central Committee Departmental Head. '62–65 Secretary of the Central Committee. '65–74 Budapest Party Chief. '74–85 once again Secretary of the Central Committee. '85–87 Deputy General Secretary of the Party. '87–88 Secretary of State (President of the Presidium). A staunch supporter of Kádár.

Németh, László, 1901–75. Recognised writer before 1945, one of the most influential representatives of populism. Because of his political views, was unable to publish before 1954. In 1956 involved in reorganizing the Peasant Party. After the crushing of the '56 Revolution protested against the Soviet invasion and communist repression by refraining from writing. Later on—while retaining his integrity—became a recognised author. Regarded as an outstanding Hungarian prose writer and dramatist.

Németh, Miklós, 1948–. One of a generation of university-educated party bureaucrats who came to power in the final phase of the Kádár regime. From 1968 member of the MSZMP. After graduating in economics, university lecturer. '74–75 scholarship in the USA. '77–81 Deputy Head of Department at the National Planning Bureau. '81–86 worked in Party administration. Deputy Head of Department, then in '86–87 Head of the Economic Policy Department of the Central Committee of the MSZMP. '87–88 Economics Secretary of the Central Committee. '88–90 Prime Minister. Increasingly separated his government from a disintegrating Party. From '87 member of the Central Committee and in '88–89 member of the Politburo.

Novotný, Antonín, 1904–75. From 1921 communist. '41–45 prisoner in the Mauthausen concentration camp. After '45 held various positions in the Party. '53–68 Head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. '57–68 President of the Czechoslovak Republic. 1968 relieved of office.

Öbersovszky, Gyula, 1927–. Journalist. During the '56 Revolution, newspaper editor. After the Soviet intervention published an illegal newspaper entitled *Élünk* [We Live]. In 1957 sentenced to death, later pardoned, and in 1963 freed. Until 1988 published under a pseudonym.

'Okos Kata' ['Canny Kate']. Journalistic pseudonym of the editor of the readers' letters and advice column of the magazine *Nők Lapja*.

Óvári, Miklós, 1925–. From the late '40s lecturer at the Party College. '58–66 worked in the Party administration. '66–70 Head of Department. '70–85 Secretary of the Central Committee. '85–88 Head of the administration of the Central Committee. '66–88 member of the Politburo. In the second half of the '70s rival of György Aczél for leadership of cultural policy, but failed to oust Aczél, mainly because of a lack of charisma.

Órkény, István, 1912–79. Writer. 1957–62 banned from publishing due to his activities before and during the '56 Revolution. From the mid-'60s a recognised author.

Öveges, József, 1895–1979. Natural scientist. A prominent figure in the popularization of natural history on radio and television.

Papp, László, 1926–. 1948, 1952, and 1956 Olympic boxing champion. 6 times European middleweight champion. Although he was the first boxer to be allowed to compete professionally, he never fought for a world title. Became a coach after the end of his professional career.

Pauer, Gyula, 1941–. Sculptor, set and costume designer. '78–82 set designer for the National Theater. From '82 member of the Katona József Theater. Set designer on many films.

Petri, György, 1943–. Poet and translator. From 1974 a freelancer. '75–88 poems and writings subject to a publication ban. From the late '70s involved in the democratic opposition movement. From 1981 co-editor of the most important samizdat peri-

odical, Beszélő. Rejuvenator of political poetry. From the '70s regarded as one of the most significant living poets.

Pioker, Ignác, 1907–88. Factory–67 planer at the United Lighting Factory. In the '50s a Stakhanovite. From '53 MP. From '75 member of the Presidium.

Pilisnszky, János, 1921–81. Poet. After 1949 banned from publication because of his views and for ideological reasons. From '57 a contributor to the *Catholic Weekly*. From the '60s, as a 'tolerated' but officially disliked author, he could write and publish his work more freely. One of the greatest Hungarian poets of the century.

Ponomarev, Boris Nikolaevich, 1905–?. 1955–86 Head of the Department of the Soviet Communist Party responsible for relations with the communist parties of other countries. '56–86 member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From '61 Secretary of the Central Committee.

Pozsgay, Imre, 1933–. From 1950 member of the Party. After '57 worked in Party administration. '69–71 Head of the Press Division of the Central Committee. '71–75 editor-in-chief of *Társadalmi Szemle*, the Party's 'theoretical periodical'. From '75 Deputy Minister of Culture. '76–82 Minister. During the '70s, while remaining loyal to the official line, became increasingly committed to the populist movement, in connection with which he began to oppose Aczél with increasing openness, although he failed to supplant him. As his support base shifted increasingly to the supporters of populism, he was shelved. '82–88 General Secretary of the Patriotic National Front, and in that capacity a cautious supporter of political reform. From '88 his stature within the Party increased considerably after Kádár had been relieved of office. '88–90

Government Minister. '88–89 member of the Politburo, by which time he had already developed a clear understanding of the need for radical change.

Pullai, Árpád, 1925–. From 1944 member of the Communist Party. From '45 employed in Party administration. In 1957 editor-in-chief of *Pártélet*. From '57 one of the organizers and Secretary of KISZ. '61–63 Head of KISZ. '63–66 Central Committee Departmental Head. '66–76 Secretary of the Central Committee. One of the chief opponents within the Party leadership of economic reforms. In 1972–hoping for Soviet assistance–plotted with like-minded 'conservatives' to remove Kádár from office. '76–84 Minister. '84 retired. '62–85 member of the Central Committee.

Ránki, Dezső, 1951–. Pianist of international repute.

Reismann, Marian, 1911–91. Photographer. Supported the illegal Communist Party in the '30s. During the Kádár regime taught at the Photography Department of the Fine Arts College. One of the best-known art photographers in Hungary, although she was disliked by official cultural policy-makers for political reasons.

Rejtő, Jenő, 1905–1943. Popular writer of humorous adventure stories about the Foreign Legion during its most notorious period when it was full of unsavoury characters–under the pseudonym of P. Howard.

Rogács, Ferenc, 1880–1961. Episcopal Vicar of Szombathely. Appointed Suffragan Bishop of Pécs by Pope Pius XII in 1948. In '58 promoted to Diocesan Bishop of Pécs.

Rubik, Ernő, 1944–. Architect, designer. In 1975 his invention the 'Rubik's Cube' became the 'Toy of the Year' and went on to become a global success in 1980–81. Now runs his own design studio.

Sándor, Károly, 1928–. 1949–64 Hungarian footballer. Capped 75 times by the national team. In 1964 selected for a European 11. 1947–64 played for MTK.

Sütő, András, 1927–. Hungarian writer and journalist in Romania. From the second half of the '40s editor-in-chief of a number of newspapers. Member of the Romanian Communist Party. '73–81 Vice President of the Romanian Writers' Association. In the '70s for a while reserve member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. Since the '70s the best-known Hungarian writer in Romania among Hungarian readers. His key concerns are the existence of the national minority and relations with the rest of the nation.

Szegedi, György, 1931–. Sculptor. Creator of mostly welded statues and three-dimensional plastic art. During the Kádár era producer of many monuments to the workers' movement.

Solt, Otília, 1944–97. Sociologist. From the late '70s involved in the democratic opposition movement. From 1981 co-editor of the most important samizdat periodical, *Beszélő*.

Straub, F. Brúnó, 1914–96. Biochemist. From 1941 university professor. '67–73 and '85–88 Vice President of the Hungarian Academy of Science. '85–89 MP. 88–89 President of the Republic (President of the presidium).

Szépölggyi, Zoltán, 1921–. From 1945 member of the Social Democratic and later of the Communist Party. Bureaucrat. '59–64 Party Secretary of the National Planning Bureau. '64–71 Budapest Party Secretary. '71–86 President of Budapest Council.

Szabó, István, 1938–. Film director. In 1981 his film *Mephisto* was awarded the Oscar for best foreign film.

Szentjób, Tamás, 1944–. Neo-

avant-garde poet and artist. In '74 arrested on a charge of distributing samizdat publications and expelled from the country. Returned to Hungary in 1991.

Szilágyi, Sándor, 1954–. Journalist. From the late '70s involved in the democratic opposition movement. From 1981 co-editor of the most important samizdat periodical, *Beszélő*.

Tóth, Dezső, 1925–85. From '56 literary historian. '61–63 Party Secretary of the Hungarian Writers' Association. '64–77 member of staff and later Central Committee Departmental Head. Senior cultural policy-maker. '77–85 Deputy Minister of Culture.

Tóth, Ilona, 1932–57. During the '56 Revolution as a junior doctor treated the wounded. After hostilities ceased she joined the political resistance movement. In '57 sentenced to death and executed on the grounds that during the '56 Revolution she had killed a man she believed was a member of the ÁVÓ.

Tamás, Gáspár Miklós, 1948–. Philosopher. Until 1978 lived in Romania. '72–78 contributor to a weekly magazine. Subject to harassment in Hungary for his critical and opposition views. '78–80 university lecturer. Member of the democratic opposition. In '80 sacked because of his views. Until '89 freelance intellectual. From time to time teaches abroad.

Vásárhelyi, Mildós, 1917–. Journalist and historian. '45–49 contributor to communist daily *Szabad Nép*. Later head of a publishing house. From '53 turned against Stalinism. Committed supporter of Imre Nagy. '53–55 President of the Information Bureau; lost his job because of his political views. In '56 Press Secretary of the Council of Ministers. Interned in Romania alongside Imre Nagy. In '58 sentenced to 5 years in prison for his involvement in the '56 Revolution. In '60 freed on amnesty.

Media historian, screen writer. Involved in the democratic opposition.

Veres, Péter, 1897–1970. Writer. Before World War II President of the Social Democratic Party and in '45–48 of the Peasant Party. '47–48 Minister. After the communist takeover primarily a writer, publicist, and committed supporter of the regime. '54–56 President of the Writers' Association. In '56 involved in reorganizing the Peasant Party. After the crushing of the Revolution continued to write, assuming a critical but loyal stance in relation to the regime. Committed to nationalism. '45–70 MP.

Vető, János, 1953. Neo-avant-garde artist, poet, painter, photographer and musician. Member of the Vajda János Fine Arts Studio of self-taught artists which operated illegally until 1972. Since the '80s has lived abroad.

Weöres, Sándor, 1913–1989. Poet, translator. As a so-called *Tort pour l'art* artist (not concerned with social issues) was considered by the communist regime as an enemy for a long time, even after '56. His poems began to be published from 1964. From 1970 gained official recognition of cultural policy-makers. Husband of Amy Károlyi.

Zalka, Máté, 1896–1937. As a prisoner of war became a member of the Russian Communist Party. Participated in the Russian Civil War in the '20s, then became a member of the Hungarian communist movement in Moscow. Under the code-name 'General Lukács', participated and was killed in the Spanish Civil War as the commander of an international brigade.

Zhivkov, Todor, 1911–. From '32 member of the Communist Party in Bulgaria. 1954–89 Head of the Bulgarian Communist Party. '62–71 Prime Minister. '71–89 Head of State (President of the State Council). In '89 stripped of all of his posts and excluded from the Party.

TERMINOLOGY AND INSTITUTIONS

1 May—Originally a day of worker solidarity instituted by the Second International commemorating the Chicago demonstration of 1886; under the socialist regime it was Labor Day, an ideological manifestation of proletarian internationalism, and a bank holiday.

4 April 1945—Officially, it was on this day that the Soviet Army expelled the last German units from Hungary in World War II—in the terminology of the regime, the Day of Liberation. This day also signaled the beginning of the Soviet occupation, which was to last until June 1991. Official national and bank holiday.

7 November 1917—The date of the so-called 'Bolshevik Revolution' in Russia—official title: the Great October Socialist Revolution. In Hungary an official state holiday and bank holiday until the onset of the period of transition.

15 March 1848—The objective of the national and civic revolution which broke out on this date was to create a civil society and state alongside independence from the Habsburg Empire. The War of Independence broke out in the autumn of 1848; in 1849 the Habsburg Empire crushed the Revolution with military assistance from the Russian tsar. 15 March is a symbol of national freedom and independence, and although the communist regime did not officially recognize it as a national holiday, it became a school holiday during the Kádár era.

21 March 1919—Date of a Bolshevik-style communist takeover in Hungary. This attempt to establish a Bolshevik

regime lasted 133 days. In the official mythology of the Kádár era it had particular significance, although it was a school rather than a state holiday.

Aranyfók—Government-owned network of retail stores selling women's and men's lingerie, shirts, blouses, stockings, and socks; from the late 1960s they also sold small quantities of relatively high-quality imported goods.

ÁB baby—A baby presented with a bond (which matures when the holder reaches 18 years of age) by Állami Biztosító [State Insurance Company]—during the Kádár era the only insurance company in the country—for being the first registered birth in Budapest, and also in the provinces, at the beginning of the year.

ÁFÉSZ—General Association of Consumption and Trade [Általános Fogyasztási és Értékesítési Szövetkezet]: a state-owned company.

ÁVÓ (or Államvédelmi Osztály)—Department of State Defense (at the Ministry of the Interior)—political police during the Stalinist period in Hungary. It later became the ÁVH (Államvédelmi Hatóság), the (independent) State Defense Authority. During the Kádár era the political police was a division within the Ministry of the Interior.

BKV (Budapesti Közlekedési Vállalat)—Budapest Transport Company, responsible for local public transport.

Black Train—Weekend train service transporting village dwellers who had to find employment in towns (see also: 'Change of life-style', 'Commuter', 'Worker's hostel').

BNV (Budapesti Nemzetközi Vásár)—Budapest International Fair; regularly exhibited consumer goods made in Hungary for export but not available in Hungarian stores.

Brigade—An organizational unit in a factory under the socialist economic regime; in line with the concept of collectivism, brigades were required, in addition to performing their allotted role in the production process, to undertake other, life-style related tasks (for instance cinema and theater visits), as required of a true 'socialist' [brigade].

Budapest Party Headquarters—headquarters of the Budapest Organization of the Communist Party. On 30 October 1956 a crowd laid siege to it and, having taken control of it, lynched some of the people in the building. This action was to become one of the most important arguments in favor of assessing the events of 1956 as counter-revolutionary (see also: 'White terror').

Bútorért—Furniture retail company.

Central Committee—Central Committee of the MSZMP. Officially defined as the supreme decision-making body of the Party between successive Party congresses. It had over a hundred members.

Central Surveillance Committee—Main disciplinary committee of the Party.

Centrum Monday—Special offers scheme at Centrum Department Stores, the state-owned chain of department stores.

Challenge flag—Symbolic distinction for factories, companies, and brigades

for success in the work competition.

'Change in life-style'—Euphemistic expression used to describe the problems faced by village populations who had to find employment in towns as a result of enforced industrialization, and the collectivization of agriculture. In 1960, 40 per cent of the active workforce made its living from agriculture; ten years later this had fallen to only 26 per cent, and by 1985 to 21 per cent (see also: 'Black train', 'Commuter', 'Worker's hostel').

Child in state care—A child brought up in a state institution due to his or her family circumstances; such children numbered 23,000 in 1960, 35,000 in 1970, and 30,000 in 1980.

Class Enemy—Enemies of the communist regime; see 'Dictatorship of the proletariat'.

Clean room—In Hungarian village houses a room used only on exceptional occasions, and usually furnished with furniture, bed linen and interior decorations passed on from generation to generation.

Clothing industry KSZ (Ruháipari Kisipari Szövetkezet)—Manufacturer of limited edition ready-made clothing.

Collectivization—see 'Co-operative'.

COMECON—Council of Mutual Economic Assistance; organization set up in 1949 by communist countries in order to isolate themselves from the world market. Commercial clearing between member states took place at special internal prices. This organization was also an instrument with which the Soviet Union could bind the other

member states to its own economy.

'COMECON market'—From the mid-1980s a semi-permanent location for the trading of smuggled goods by citizens of socialist countries. This trade was unlicensed to begin with, and the colloquial expression dates from this period.

Communist Youth Organization—Youth organization of the MSZMP.

Commuter—The number of commuters radically increased as a result of enforced co-operativization: in 1960, 13 per cent, in 1970 20 per cent, and in 1980 24 per cent of the working population was commuting; 90 per cent of them lived in villages (see also: 'Change of life-style', 'Black train').

Construction camp—Work camp organized by the state for students and operated under the aegis of KISZ.

Co-operative farming—Synonym for agricultural co-operatives; see 'Producer's co-operative'.

Co-operative housing—Apartment built by a kind of building society set up for the construction of private apartments; see also: 'Freehold housing' and 'Council apartment'.

Co-tenancy—Coexistence in one apartment of several households. For each apartment in its ownership the state set a per capita living space, in accordance with which, from the early 1950s new tenants were moved in with the existing ones, partly to alleviate the housing shortage and partly to punish middle class families. This system persisted into the Kádár era, but from the 1960s

measures were taken to abolish it.

Council—System of district or local self-government under the communist regime. It was nominally run by elected representatives, but in reality it was a hierarchically structured system of administration directed from the center; see also: 'Council member'.

Council apartment—In the early 1950s the vast majority of apartments expropriated by the state by way of nationalization and new housing projects were owned nominally by a local council and in Budapest by a district council; see also: 'IKV'.

Council member—'Elected' member of the council.

Counter-revolution—Official interpretation of the 1956 Revolution during the Kádár era.

County-level Party conference—See 'Party conference'.

Csepel Iron Works (Csepel Fémmű)—One of the most important enterprises of Hungarian heavy industry—also used as a metaphor for workers and the working class in general.

Day care center—Organized at schools to look after the children of working parents; responsible for feeding children and keeping them occupied after regular teaching hours.

Democratic opposition—Loosely structured movement which emerged in the late 1970s; its main objective was to compel the state to grant democratic freedoms.

Déclassé elements—Persons belonging to a social group which had lost its previous status under the communist regime: former bureaucrats, members of the propertied classes ('capitalists'), army officers, persons of noble origin, and so on.

Dictatorship of the proletariat—The absolute rule of the Communist Party, which—according to Party ideology—enforces the rule of the working class; see also: 'Power of the working class'.

Dogmatic—Supporter of Stalinism; the opposite of revisionist (see also: 'Sectarian').

Duty of proletarian internationalism—Euphemism signifying primarily the violation of the sovereignty of other socialist countries and interference in their internal affairs for the purpose of securing socialism (Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Poland in 1980). It could also mean simply support for communist or extreme left-wing parties or movements in other countries; see also: 'Fraternal assistance'.

Economic mechanism—Operational mechanism of the socialist economy.

Election—Democratic window dressing of the socialist regime; voting took place for unopposed candidates; the turnouts for parliamentary and council elections were always nearly 100 per cent and ended in unanimous 'yes' votes.

ELZETT—Factory making metal products.

ERDÉRT—Company selling wood and wood products.

Evening courses—Further education for working people, providing them with qualifications equivalent to those acquired in the course of traditional, so-called 'daytime education'. During the Kádár era, an average 30 per cent of those undergoing secondary and higher education were taking on evening or correspondence courses.

ÉVM (Építészeti és Városfejlesztési Minisztérium)—Ministry of Construction and Urban Development.

FAÉRT—Company selling wood products.

Felvidék—Northern part of pre-Trianon Hungary. After World War I

part of Czechoslovakia; today Slovakia. A significant portion of the population are ethnic Hungarians.

Film-múzeum (Film Museum)—A movie theater held up as an exemplum during the Kádár era, which occasionally—and usually after several years' delay—showed quality Western films (whose ideology was said to be alien to that of socialism) alongside classic films.

Foreign guest worker—Someone working in Hungary under an intergovernmental treaty with other socialist countries, in practice Cuba, Poland, and Vietnam.

'Fradi'—Popular name of Ferencváros Sports Club (Ferencvárosi Torna Klub) or FTC.

Fraternal assistance—Synonym of internationalist assistance.

Freehold housing—Privately owned housing financed in significant part from the owner's own capital and [to a smaller extent] from government loans provided at mostly symbolic interest rates. This was one of the concessions made during the Kádár era to alleviate the housing shortage, allowing so-called 'privately funded housing construction' (of which there were two kinds: freehold apartments and one-family houses), making it possible for the government to get its hands on some of the extra income the population was making by doing extra work (see VGKM). This was also an indication that the government tacitly acknowledged a degree of social differentiation among the Hungarian population. Provided that the money was available, freehold apartments and one-family houses could be obtained much faster than council apartments. Throughout the Kádár era, privately founded housing construction was more large-scale and more efficient than its state-controlled counterpart: between 1960 and 1970, while council and co-operative housing accounted for just over 220,000 units of accommodation, the figure for the private sector was 390,000 units—between 1970 and 1985 against 390,000 units of public housing the private sector produced 870,000; see also: 'Co-operative housing', and 'Council apartment'.

Gerbeaud—Elegant confectionery named after a French confectioner and located in the heart of Budapest.

Golden Sunday—The last Sunday before 24 December, when all stores stay open, as an exception from the general rules concerning opening hours.

Greenhouse farmers (Földházak)—Farmers who grew vegetables under plastic sheeting. Supplementary activity of village people to boost their incomes, although for many it was in fact their main source of income.

Gulyás party—Tourist entertainment with a touch of the romanticism of the 'puszta'.

Habsburg Dual Monarchy—Period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1867–1918).

Hold—1 'hold' equals 0.57 hectares or 1.42 acres

Hortobágy puszta—Region of the Hungarian Great Plain. Literally, puszta means flat plain with little vegetation.

Housing applicant—Person making an official application for government (council) housing. With the nationalization of the vast majority of private housing in cities and towns in the early 1950s the previous system of private tenancies became practically non-existent. One of the legal ways of obtaining housing was to apply for a government (council) tenancy: the waiting period was generally 10–15 years, although

political and other protégés, as well as families with three or more children, could gain access to housing more quickly. See also: 'Freehold housing', 'Council apartment'.

Hungarian question—On 14 November 1956 the UN put on its agenda—and discussed for several years thereafter—the crushing of the 1956 Revolution and Soviet intervention. The Hungarian government headed by János Kádár regarded this as unwarranted interference in the country's internal affairs. In October 1962, after a series of secret meetings, the Hungarian and US governments agreed that the United States would regard the case of the 1956 Revolution as closed and that Hungary would declare a general amnesty for those convicted for their involvement. Acting on a US recommendation the UN removed the subject from its agenda on 20 December 1962; on 21 March 1963 a general amnesty was declared in Hungary for those convicted of 'counter-revolutionary actions'; at the same time, an amnesty was also declared for those imprisoned for actions committed during the Stalinist period in Hungary, although those imprisoned on murder charges—which included many participants in the armed fighting in 1956—were not pardoned. The number of political prisoners who continued to serve prison sentences is estimated at several hundred. See also: 'UN Commission'.

IBUSZ—State-owned tourism company.

IKV (Ingatlankezelő Vállalat)—Property Management Company. Responsible for the management and maintenance of state (council) owned apartments. The ineptness of its operations was a constant source of popular banter during the socialist period.

Imperialists—Foreign enemies of socialism; the Western world.

Incitement—Penal law category: any spoken, written, or other manifestation contrary to the interests of socialism.

Institution of public education—Government-financed system of cultural institutions such as libraries, culture houses, and museums.

Interior personnel—Euphemistic expression for the political and ordinary police.

K-line—Direct telephone line, connecting senior state and Party functionaries via a separate network.

Kender Jutá—Name of a textile company, literally 'Hemp Jute'.

Keravill—State-owned retail company selling electric household appliances.

KGM (Kohó és Gépipari Minisztérium)—Ministry of Metallurgy and the Machine Industry.

KISZ—see 'Communist Youth Organization'.

Kossuth Prize—State medal of honor established in 1948 and named after the leading figure of the 1848 Revolution, Lajos Kossuth. Awarded for outstanding achievement in the arts, sciences, and work.

KPVDSZ (Kereskedelmi, Pénzügyi és Vendéglátóipari Dolgozók Szakszervezete)—Trade Union of Trade, Finance, and Catering Workers.

'Kulak' list—During the Stalinist period in Hungary (1949–63) this was a Bolshevik-inspired list of better-off peasants who were regarded as enemies of the regime. Introduced in order to subject those on it to increased surveillance, harassment, and even exile.

Labanc—Nickname of pro-Austrian soldiers during the eighteenth-century Hungarian wars of independence.

Liberation—see: 4 April 1945.

Lumpenproletariat—Originally blue-collar workers with a debauched life-style; in political usage it meant workers regarded by the regime as not as politically conscious—that is, loyal—as they should be.

Maternity benefit—Maternity leave due to mothers for three years after birth, for the duration of which the mother was entitled to a social insurance allowance. In 1970 167,000—3.3 per cent—of all workers, and in 1980 254,000—5 per cent—of all workers—made use of the scheme.

MAVAD—State-owned company dealing with hunting and game. Arranged hunting trips in Hungary for foreign hunters.

MÁV (Magyar Államvasutak)—Hungarian State Railways.

Merkúr—The only retail car dealer in Hungary during the Kádár era, although its function was distribution rather than trade. As a general rule, buyers could collect their car 3–5 years after making the advance payment.

Migratory bird—Someone prone to frequent changes of workplace.

MSZMP—Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (referred to as 'the Party')

MTI (Magyar Távirati Iroda)—Hungarian News Agency. News agency of the Hungarian state.

Nagyvaros Dam—Hydro-electric power station to be built in accordance with an Intergovernmental Treaty entered into in 1977 between Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Became the symbol of gigantomania and environmentally polluting socialist industrialization. Open opposition to the project became a vehicle of mass protest against the socialist regime as such. The dam question remains unresolved to this day.

Name-giving ceremony—Secular version of christening. Although many families held christenings in church, the name-giving ceremony would also be held for a small material reward.

National Front—see 'Patriotic National Front'.

National Party conference—See 'Party conference'.

National Patriotic Front—Special institution of the socialist government. A so-called 'social organization' created at the time of the liquidation of political pluralism in 1949. It had no membership, only a presidium and officials; its function was to nominate candidates for the periodic 'elections'.

National Theater—Important symbol of Hungarian national culture. In the period of national awakening in the 19th century, it was perceived as an institution of Hungarian language and culture in the face of attempts to Germanize them. Its permanent home was demolished in 1965, allegedly in connection with city development. The construction of a new National Theater has been the subject of continued discussion, and indeed work recently begun at a site in the heart of Budapest, but, as so often in the past, political controversy has intervened.

Nationalization—The partial expropriation of private property which took place after World War II was expanded into almost total expropriation by the communist regime (see also: 'Public property').

Nemecsek—hero of a novel by Ferenc Molnár called *Pál utcai fiúk* [Pál Street Boys], forever 'playing the private' (or, when playing pirates, 'the guy who always had to walk the plank') when playing with his pals.

Nuclear power station accident, the—Euphemistic expression for the Chernobyl catastrophe in 1986.

ORI (Országos Rendező Iroda)—National Organizing Bureau. Government institution responsible for one-off concerts, recitals, and entertainment programs.

OTP (Országos Takarékpénztár)—National Savings Bank. The largest Hungarian retail bank.

Party conference (national, county-level)—Gathering of delegates structured on a territorial basis, preceding the Party congress, for which it was responsible for electing delegates. In 1988 a national Party conference was convened as an exceptional rather than an extraordinary congress; it was at this national conference that János Kádár was effectively relieved of his powers.

Party congress—Formally the Party's supreme decision-making body; initially convened every four years, later every five years.

Party general meeting—Regular gathering with the direct involvement of Party members in a place of residence or workplace.

Party Secretary—Elected head of various levels of the Party. In colloquial use, an expression denoting every sort of Party functionary.

People's democracies—Official term for countries belonging within the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union.

Personality cult—Expression used to describe Stalinism: in the name of the notion that 'they too built socialism' it was argued that the main cause of distorted development in socialist systems was the personality cults of the leaders rather than the nature of the communist regime as such.

Petty bourgeois indulgence—Selfish and individualistic capitalist attitudes contrary to anti-consumerist socialism.

Pioneer movement—Organization created on the Soviet model for children aged 10–14. The most important part of the pioneer uniform was a red kerchief worn around the neck. In the Kádár era the ideological core of the movement increasingly faded away, although some of the formalities were retained, in favor of the usual pedagogical functions of similar organizations for young people.

Pioneer patrol—Smallest organizational unit of the pioneer movement, consisting of approximately 10 children.

Plan period—Five-year and one-year plan cycles.

Populism—School of thought which places national identity at the center of its political credo. During the Kádár era it emphasized unity with the Hungarian national minorities in neighboring countries and rejected both capitalism and Soviet-type socialism.

Power of the working class—Synonym for the absolute rule of the Communist Party. According to the fundamental ideological postulate of the regime, the leading social force was the working class and its vanguard, the Party. See also: 'Dictatorship of the proletariat'.

President of the MSZMP—Position created by the National Party Conference for János Kádár in May 1988 when he fell from power.

Presidium—Body responsible to the Head of State (President of the Presidium). Its main function was to issue decrees between sittings of Parliament—in fact, the latter was only in session for a couple of days a year.

Producers' co-operative (TSZ)—Agricultural co-operative created mostly by forced collectivization. It was a special feature of the Kádár era that from the early 1960s Hungarian producers' co-operatives were becoming

increasingly distinct from the Soviet-type 'kolkhoz', in respect of both farm decision-making and the individual interests of its members.

Public property—In the political jargon of the socialist regime a synonym of state ownership; see also: 'Nationalization'.

Pufajka—Quilted coat with a cotton lining, introduced to Hungary from the Soviet Union and worn by members of the special police, hence their colloquial name, the 'pufajkas' ['pufajka-wearers'].

Puli—Hungarian shepherd dog

Ravill—Retail trade company specializing in radios and electronic goods.

Red Caps—Hungarian Soldiers

Red Star—Symbol of the international communist movement, displayed on every public building, the coat of arms of the state, medals and awards, and the uniform of the armed forces.

Rehabilitation—Process of reviewing Stalinist political show trials after Imre Nagy's ascent to power in 1953.

Renewal of the Party membership card—Infrequently used method of reviewing Party membership.

Revolutionariness of everyday life—Metaphor for consolidated socialism. Its message was that, as the romanticism of revolution fades, simply doing one's duty as a socialist comes to take on revolutionary status.

Revolutionary regiment—Military unit during the period of the so-called 'counter-revolution' and commanded by officers loyal to the regime.

Revolutionary Youth Days—Series of celebrations organized by KISZ from the mid-1970s in commemoration of 15 and 21 March, and 4 April, mainly with the intention of diverting young people from spontaneous celebrations on 15 March.

Revolutionary Worker and Peasant Government—Official term used to describe the governments of the Kádár era until 1974.

Revisionist—Someone who seeks to revise the teachings of Marx, typically right-leaning in comparison to the official interpretation of Marxism. After the split between the communist and

social democratic movements, the term was used by the communists to describe the latter. A stigmatizing term used to describe communists who wanted to break with Stalinism even before 1956; in the Kádár era it was first used to describe the supporters of Imre Nagy. The opposite 'extreme' to *dogmatism*. Later, a synonym for the 'right-leaning' opponents of the official political line.

Samizdat—Word of Russian origin meaning self-produced publication; such publications circumvented official censorship and were strictly illegal.

Sectarian—Belonging to a sect; synonym of *dogmatic*.

Skilled worker apprentice—Student of the state school system designed to train fresh supplies of industrial workers; the skilled worker training school is formally a kind of secondary school, although in practice it is impossible for students at such schools to gain admittance to institutions of higher education. During the Kádár era, 40 per cent of 14–16 year-olds attended this type of school.

Socialism—The term by which the communist regime called itself.

Socialist national unity—Slogan expressing the self-perception of the consolidated Kádár regime: 'The country is united in its recognition of the political establishment and the Party's commitment to the continuous improvement of living standards.' In other words, the whole population supports the Party line; those who do not thereby exclude themselves from the 'nation'. From the early 1980s, this expression was succeeded by 'national consensus'.

Socialist work competition—Instrument of socialist economics for the purpose of incentivizing production, which in effect meant the meeting of [production] targets set for individuals, brigades, and companies; see also: 'Challenge flag'.

Soviet troops—From 1944–45 until 1947—the date of the peace treaty—the Soviet army occupied Hungary as a former Axis power. Later on, on the

pretext of securing the roads in the Soviet zone of Austria, carved up in accordance with the peace treaty, and from 1955—the date of the Austrian State Treaty—troops were stationed in Hungary pursuant to the Warsaw Treaty which was formulated at that time. The permanent Soviet presence was the main guarantee of communist rule, a fact proved beyond doubt by the events of 1956. The Soviet troops stationed in Hungary lived in a closed world of their own, they had no daily social contact with the civilian population and their status was above the law. They left Hungary in June 1991.

Special police—Internal law enforcement organization set up after the crushing of the 1956 Revolution by Soviet troops and manned by communists loyal to János Kádár.

State farm—State-owned agricultural enterprise.

Stakhanovite—'Shock worker'. Stakhanov was a legendary Soviet worker who reportedly devised a method for vastly increasing production. A Stakhanovite was typically an individual whose alleged output far outperformed the plan. In colloquial use, the word became a synonym for 'overzealous crawler', chiefly because Stakhanovite feats were used to establish unrealistic workrates and generally relied on large numbers of support workers who were not taken into account, either personally or in the output calculations. An unpopular publicity gimmick.

Studio flat—Typical housing of the urban proletariat from the late 19th until the mid-20th century.

SZOT (Szakszervezetek Országos Tanácsa)—National Council of Trade Unions. Supreme forum of the trade unions structured in accordance with sectors of the economy; see also: 'Trade union'.

Tenant—Someone renting an apartment or room in an apartment belonging to another person; a characteristic phenomenon associated with the so-called 'change in life-style' was that a massive network of such dwellings grew

up in apartments entirely unsuitable for the purpose in towns and cities; an even less salubrious version was the so-called 'bedsit'.

Trade union—Under the communist regime the unions complemented the government and Party apparatus, acting as a kind of 'transmission belt', not only in respect of production, but also of a wide range of welfare provisions. Official unionisation was as high as 80–90 per cent.

Túró Rudi—Children's delicacy: sweet curd in a chocolate coating.

UN Commission—Five-member commission appointed by the General Assembly of the UN to investigate the Hungarian question. Its members included representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia, and Uruguay. The Second Secretary of the Commission, Povl Bang Jensen of Denmark, who was committed to the Hungarian cause and had gathered a large amount of evidence concerning repression, died on 25 November 1959 under circumstances unclear even today; see also: 'Hungarian question'.

United Lighting (Egyesült Izzó)—Factory manufacturing incandescent lights, and radio valves and luminescent tubes.

VGMK (Vállalati Gazdasági Munkaközösség)—Working association within the Enterprise. Form of association established in 1981 in an attempt to reconcile private initiative and state ownership. Private organization made up of employees of a company or factory and set up to carry out auxiliary and maintenance tasks; it was intended to be a source of supplementary income to compensate for the stalling of living standards and also to improve productivity; in 1982 VGMKs counted 29,000 members and in 1985 256,000.

Veteran—a long-standing—pre-1945—participant in the workers' movement, particularly the communist movement.

Vigilance—The virtue of constantly being on the look-out for the enemies of socialism, and taking action against them.

Volán—State-owned bus company responsible for transport between towns.

White Terror—Anti-communist terror. Originally, the repression after the fall of the Commune of 1919; in the Kádár era it referred to the alleged anti-communist atrocities of the 1956 Revolution, the number of which was vastly inflated by the state propaganda machine: in fact, only 37 members of the armed forces fell victim to mob-law or were shot while being held prisoner; this contrasts sharply with the approximately 350 victims of Hungarian and Soviet firing squads between 23 October and 12 December, and the 229 people executed in the course of the repression which followed the Revolution.

Workers' Militia—Armed force made up of citizens loyal to the socialist regime, almost exclusively Party members, between 1957 and 1989. Subject to direct Party control, its uniform was reminiscent of blue-collar work wear.

Workers' council—Self-governing bodies at the workplace which evolved during the 1956 Revolution. Even the new political establishment recognised their legitimacy for a couple of months after the crushing of the Revolution.

Workers' hostel—Temporary halls of residence for workers employed away from home. Men and women were segregated, dormitories crowded, and facilities shared. They were generally located in outlying areas. See also: 'Black train', 'Change of life style'.

Youth Guard—Guard of KISZ organizers with their own uniform.

Youth Newspaper Publishing Company (Ifjúsági Lapkiadó Vállalat)—KISZ institution responsible for publishing newspapers and leaflets.

Youth Park (Ifjúsági Park)—Open-air place of entertainment for young people which opened on 20 August 1961; the first venue to put on major pop concerts. The park was overseen by KISZ, and a prerequisite for entry was a 'civilized' manner of dress.

DAILIES AND PERIODICALS

Angyalföld [working class area of Budapest]: newspaper of the 13th District Executive Committee of the MSZMP in 1957, and then, from 1958, of workers of the [13th] District. From 1964 it was the newspaper of the 13th District Local Council, and from 1976 also of the National Patriotic Front;

Családi Lap [Family Magazine]: 1956–67: *A Vöröskereszt Családi Lapja* [The Red Cross Family Magazine], weekly issued by the Hungarian Red Cross;

Csepel: see *Fogaskerék*;

Egyetemi Lapok [University Pages]: paper issued by Eötvös Loránd [Budapest] University;

Élet és Irodalom [Life and

Literature]: literary and political weekly, and for a while also the weekly of the Hungarian Writers' Association;

Esti Hírlap [Evening News]: political daily of the Budapest Politburo [of the MSZMP];

Fogaskerék [Cogwheels]: from 1963: *Csepel*, paper of the workers of the Csepel Iron and Metal Works;

Hajdú-Bihari Napló [Hajdú-Bihar Journal]: daily of the Hajdú-Bihar County Committee of the MSZMP;

Határőr [Border Guard]: 1960–1975: *For the Homeland*—illustrated weekly of the Border Guard Command at the Ministry of the Interior;

A hazáért [For the Homeland]:

see *Határőr*;

Ifjúkommunista [Young Communist]: monthly periodical of the Central Committee of KISZ, addressing theoretical, political, and methodological issues;

Ifjúsági Magazin [Youth Magazine]: monthly illustrated periodical of the Hungarian Communist Youth Organization;

A Jövő Mérnöke [Engineer of the Future]: paper of the Budapest Technical University;

Köznevelés [Public Education]: weekly magazine, first of the Ministry of Culture, later of the Ministry of Education;

Magyar Ifjúság [Hungarian Youth]: central paper of the

Hungarian Communist Youth Organization;

Magyar Nemzet [Hungarian Nation]: daily of the Patriotic National Front;

Magyar Rendőr [Hungarian Policeman]: illustrated weekly of the Ministry of the Interior;

Magyar Sajtó [Hungarian Press]: paper of the Hungarian Journalists' Federation;

Néphadsereg [People's Army]: weekly of the Hungarian Army;

Népszabadság [Liberty for the People]: central daily of the MSZMP;

Nők Lapja [Women's Magazine]: illustrated weekly of the National Federation of Hungarian Women;

Pajtás [Pal]: paper of the

Hungarian Pioneer Federation;

Pártélet [Party Life]: monthly periodical of the Central Committee of the MSZMP;

Reformátusok Lapja [Presbyterian Magazine]: national Presbyterian weekly;

Szabad Föld [Free Land]: weekly for Hungarian peasants and members of co-operatives, and later of the National Council of the Patriotic National Front and the National Council of Co-operatives;

Új Ember [New Man]: Catholic weekly;

A Vöröskereszt Családi Lapja [Red Cross Family Magazine]: see *Családi Lap*.

